

THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC
REVIVAL IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

PAUL THUREAU-DANGIN

VOLUME I



THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC REVIVAL
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



Cardinal Newman.

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THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC
REVIVAL IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

PAUL THUREAU-DANGIN
SECRÉTAIRE PERPÉTUEL DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE

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ERRATA

- Page 126, line 7, for "truth" read "existence," and delete the quotation commas before "a latent" and after "England."
 Page 260, line 13, for "relationship" read "comparison."

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THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

(1899)

I

IN the course of the year 1895, and the beginning of 1896, the Catholics of France found their attention suddenly drawn to what was occurring in certain sections of the Anglican Church. Things were happening across the Channel which took Catholics by surprise. From a stronghold of Protestant bigotry, where it had so long been the custom to denounce "Roman idolatries," came the echo of words so strange and unexpected, that several persons, deeply moved, began to ask themselves if a great conversion were not on the eve of accomplishment. A peer of England—Lord Halifax—the president of a numerous and powerful Association of Churchmen, had made, at one of the meetings of this Association,¹ an eloquent and passionately sincere appeal for the restoration of Christian unity.

After having recalled with regret the epoch when there was but one Church, united under the Primacy of Rome, he went on to express the hope that the Church of England might be again united, by the bonds of visible communion, to the Holy See.

¹ Meeting of the English Church Union held at Bristol, February 14, 1895.

This union, as he declared, he "desired with his whole soul." It was also, in his opinion, possible, since the authorized documents of the Anglican Church contained nothing essentially irreconcilable with the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

Lord Halifax invited his co-religionists to work for this reconciliation, to set aside national pride and secular prejudice, to humble themselves for the faults of their own Church, and, above all, to give themselves to prayer, with the conviction that nothing touches our Lord's heart more nearly than the peace of His Church.

Finally, he hailed in Leo XIII. a great and generous spirit, capable not only of understanding such a work, but of bringing it to a good end; and he gave the Pope an assurance that he could count on a sympathetic response to any appeal which might be addressed to the Church of England.

It seemed difficult not to believe that this invitation had reached, and influenced, the Sovereign Pontiff when, some few weeks later, he put forth his famous letter, *Ad Anglos*.¹

In this letter he wishes "To the English who are seeking the Kingdom of Christ in the unity of the Faith, grace and peace in the Lord!" Then, in accents of apostolic solicitude and paternal tenderness, which recalled the spirit of that saintly pontiff, who, in the sixth century, had willed and directed *from Rome* the conversion of England, he congratulated the English on the signs of divine grace visible in their nation, and the efforts they had made towards reconciliation with Catholicism. He invited them, whatever the community or the institution to which they belonged, to pursue the holy enterprise of

¹ April 14, 1895.

bringing about re-union. He prayed God for them, and requested them to pray for him.

At the same time, as if to give proof of his conciliatory intentions, he brought up again for consideration the question of the validity of Anglican Orders; and nominated, to inquire into it, a commission, part of whose members were notoriously in favour of that validity.

For the first time, in the course of three centuries, the heart of England seemed touched by a message from Rome. Lord Halifax, more full of ardour and hope than ever, ceaselessly in motion from London to Paris, and from Paris to Rome, in intimate relations with French priests, and received at the Vatican, triumphed before his co-religionists at the Congress of Norwich,¹ and exulted to see the question of re-union occupying all minds.

One of the Primates of the English Church, the Archbishop of York, made, at the same Congress, a speech on the subject. Re-union, he said, was in the air; and he greeted with respect the voice from Rome, and regarded it as a duty to give a good reception to a letter so remarkably favourable in tone, and, in a certain sense, unique. He reminded his hearers that its author presided over a Church which had produced a multitude of saints, and sent forth a noble army of martyrs; a Church to which they owed a vast treasury of theological literature; a Church from which the English had received in past ages, in times of weakness and misfortune, considerable and affectionate succour.

Although he marked the points of divergence, he insisted on the profound and ever-increasing desire to see

¹ October, 1895.

the termination of this "great scandal" of a divided Christendom, and on the duty of working for re-union. He exhorted Anglicans not to be too self-complacent, but to revise, on certain points, their own position; and he expressed the hope that the day would come when a Pope would have the glory of re-uniting the two great branches of the Church Catholic.

Throughout England, in various religious assemblies, the question of union was the order of the day, debated, if not resolved, by all, in a spirit of anxious solicitude.

The Archbishop of Canterbury enjoined his clergy concerning it. Even Mr. Gladstone (who, immediately after the Vatican Council, had, by his pamphlet, *Vaticanism*, revived all the old English hostility to the Papacy!) intervened with a public memorial, in order, in his turn, to proclaim the necessity of union!¹ He showed how Anglicanism, by its increasing resemblance on so many points to the usages of the Church of Rome, was acknowledging the errors of the past. He spoke with deference of the Pope, as the first Bishop of Christendom, and paid homage to the attitude Leo had assumed. It was, he said in conclusion, an attitude which, in the largest sense of the word, could be called *paternal*; and he should ever treasure it, with sentiments of respect, gratitude, and high esteem, as one of the most precious—though also one of the latest!—memories of his life.

In the presence of such demonstrations it really seemed permissible to entertain the most daring hopes; and optimistic imagination already foresaw the day of corporate re-union, when at least a part of the Anglican Church

¹ This memorial, dated May, 1896, was sent to the *Times* by the Archbishop of York, and published in that paper June 1, 1896.

would return in a body to the bosom of Rome; and a kind of Uniate Church, in a position analogous to that of certain Eastern Churches, be established on the English side of the Channel. Pious minds measured in advance with deep emotion all that Catholicism would gain from such an accession, and how great would be the advantage of the infusion of the Anglo-Saxon spirit into a religious community which the misfortune of past schisms had rendered too exclusively Latin. Viewed in this light the prodigious expansion of the British Empire could but assume a Providential significance. It was destined, even as the Roman Empire of old, to spread the Kingdom of Christ and His Vicar.

A few months later all these glorious visions had abruptly vanished. The Papal Bull, which definitively declared the invalidity of orders conferred by the English Church, had sufficed to destroy them. And now it was those members of the English Church who had advanced further towards Catholicism who were the most grieved, embarrassed, and wounded. They accused Rome very unjustly of having given proof of her obstinacy and intolerance, and even of having laid a snare for their too credulous confidence, an ambush for their feet. Above all, they charged with responsibility their compatriots, the English Catholics, who, as a matter of fact, had never dissembled their opposition to the whole enterprise; and they reproached them with having laboured, for petty motives, to overthrow the great work.

On the other hand, far from confessing themselves troubled or enfeebled by the pontifical repudiation, the Anglicans in question declared defiantly that they had no need of Rome, and that their Church had never been

more fully conscious of her own rights and her own authority. They even congratulated themselves on a Papal utterance, which had in effect added to her strength, by showing the factions which divided her, the necessity of concentration against the ancient enemy. If they spoke of re-union now, it was not of re-union with the Pope, but with those who were known to be in revolt against him. Hence, the eager addresses paid to the Russian Church, and the protection which the Anglican Episcopate affected to extend to those German and Italian sectaries, known as Old Catholics. The gulf between England and Rome seemed thus to have become wider than ever; and of the attempt made to bridge it nothing seemed left to England but the depression and exasperation of disappointment.

Since that time other events have taken place which seem to mark still further the ruin of Catholic hopes and the triumph of the Protestant spirit. There has been an outbreak of indignation against those Anglicans who, in default of re-union with Rome, have professed to continue loyal to Catholic beliefs and practices. Begun by persons of little standing, and furthered by rather scurrilous methods, this agitation has developed in a way that could not have been foreseen from its origin.

All the newspapers have set themselves to discuss the Mass, and the Confessional; the *Times*, among others, became, for some months, an open tribunal for all those who desired to vindicate the old Protestant traditions of the Church of England against the innovations of the modern High Churchmen.

Numerous meetings, both of laymen and clerics, have been convoked in all parts of the country. The two Houses of Parliament have been on several occasions

occupied with the question; the leaders of the different parties have stated their case, and various propositions have been made for proceeding, by legislation or legal process, against those accused of "Romanizing."

At the same time, the Bishops, under stress of repeated demands, have been forced to bestir themselves, and to promise to use their authority to restrain the abuses of which complaint is made.

What will be the issue of all this? It is plain that the Government and the Episcopate are, at bottom, seriously embarrassed, that both are conscious of the dangerous character and inefficiency of the weapons they are invited to use, distrusting either their competency or their authority, and are desirous of gaining time, while doing as little as possible. Will such leisure be permitted them? Already the pressure of opinion has constrained them to go further than they had at first any intention of doing. If they decide to take some rigorous measures, what will be the effect? Those threatened with such measures seem for the moment somewhat astonished by the storm that has arisen against them; and if some, like Lord Halifax, use language sufficiently firm, others are far from appearing ready for martyrdom. Will these accept from the Episcopate—supposing that body to be capable of forming, and pronouncing, an undivided opinion—liturgical prohibitions and dogmatic prescriptions, opposed to all those principles which they have twenty times proclaimed to be the very essence of their Church? Are they likely to recognize in Parliament, or in any civil tribunal, a spiritual authority, in agreement, no doubt, with the past history of Anglicanism, but entirely at variance with the ideas which they flatter themselves their

influence has now made to prevail? And if there is resistance, how far will it spread? Will it be the act of the whole High Church party, or only of the most advanced fraction of that party? Will such a resistance lead to a schism which will be as the first breach in the ecclesiastical edifice, a preparatory step towards Disestablishment; or, at the price of equivocations and inconsistencies (certainly not the first in the history of the Church of England!), will a means be found of keeping within the walls of the Establishment men, the antagonism of whose creeds will have become still more obvious?

All these are questions it would be rash enough (particularly in one of another nation) to attempt to answer at present.

Events are moving, and it is the more difficult to predict their issue, on account of the nameless, and perhaps more or less irresponsible, impulses that seem to govern them. We will confine ourselves to saying that, for the moment, there exists in England an aggressive return of the old Protestant spirit, a reaction against the Catholic tendencies which were manifesting themselves in a notable party of the Anglican Communion.

Does it not seem that this reaction (following so closely upon the failure of the attempt at re-union with Rome) is of a nature to dissipate all the hopes which the recent unexpected modifications in the State religion of England had made us form? And the kingdom of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth—does it not appear to possess, more than ever, the spirit of schism and rebellion which animated it in the sixteenth century? To hold such a conclusion would be only to show, in discouragement, the same pre-

cipitation which we recognized a little while ago as so irrational in hope.

In order to judge rightly of any movement we must not confine ourselves to the more or less temporary effects of particular crises, but contemplate the matter in its entirety, as though we stood on a distant height.

Accidents, however regrettable, are not capable of destroying in a few months a work that has extended over years; and once we turn our attention to the broad lines and general results of an evolution which has been taking place in England for nearly a century, instead of to the passing shock of the recent discomfiture, the truth forces itself upon us irresistibly. We cannot deny the importance of the change produced; we see clearly the direction in which it has been accomplished, and we acknowledge that there has resulted from it a progress, as incontestable as it was unexpected, of Catholic ideas.

II

In order to estimate this progress, it will first be well to compare the position of the Catholic Church in England, at the beginning of the century, with the position she holds there to-day.

The Reformation, which was, to a great degree, the work of royal caprice, was not capable of plucking the Old Faith out of the heart of the nation, in the course, as it were, of a single day.

Numbers remained faithful to Catholic sentiments, perhaps because of a haughty disinclination to associate themselves with the revolt of their Sovereign, perhaps because they underestimated the gravity of that revolt. But for three whole centuries every possible means was

employed against these Catholics, for the purpose of gaining their adherence, whether it were a sincere adherence or not.

There was the pressure of authority, of spoliation, of torture, and later, towards the end of the seventeenth century, there was a number of cunningly combined laws, which let no single act of the Catholic escape them, which struck at him through his conscience, through his property, through his public and private rights.

Add to these, the disfavour and ruin of those political causes to which the Papacy had allied itself; and is it a matter for wonder that, under such conditions, the number of the faithful should have steadily diminished?

Of the old Catholic families which, in spite of persecution, had long remained in various parts of the kingdom, like fixed points round which resistance could rally, many had become extinct in the Civil Wars, and others, worn-out and over-persuaded, had ended by capitulating.

Thus when, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the strain relaxed, and Protestant England began to feel ashamed of her intolerance, there remained but a scanty number of Catholics to enjoy the peace and liberty which she at last showed herself disposed to extend to them.

Of these Catholics, some lived in retirement and isolation on their own country estates, others were scattered and, as it were, drowned in the population of the great towns. As to their numbers, statistics are lacking for any exact calculation. After the most careful investigation, there could only be found, about the year 1814, in the forty shires of England, a hundred and sixty thousand or so.

Of Vicars-Apostolic—who, in countries where the Catholic Church is but “a mission,” take the place of

Bishops—there were but four; with about four hundred priests, who lived as unobtrusively as possible, remembering all too well the days of persecution, and scarcely daring to wear a dress which would reveal their character.

Churches, or, to speak more correctly, chapels, were few; without exterior distinction, and hidden away in the most obscure corners of the towns. Did a rash individual forget himself so far as to raise a cross over the door of one of these buildings, the police promptly had it taken down, for fear of a riot! The interior was almost entirely without those symbolic ornaments which, in all ages, have been sought after by Catholic piety; it was as if the Cult were forbidden to breathe freely. Of rare occurrence, a solemn office, a High Mass, a Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament; prayer, one might have said, was only permitted in a low voice! In many churches, Mass was only celebrated twice a week; the mere word "Mass" caused alarm, and one spoke, not of "going to Mass," but of "going to prayers."

To sum up, the Catholic Church, at this epoch, though delivered from violent persecution, was still humbled; and strove, as it were, to make herself invisible. Cardinal Vaughan has compared her to boats which, on the day after a tempest, when the wind, though abated, is still strong, takes in their sails, in order to give it as little advantage as possible.

It is true that the great mass of the people no longer felt, to the same degree, that aversion mixed with terror, which had been one of the manifestations of national feeling, at a time when every English Catholic was suspected of being either a partizan of Spain, or a conspirator, meditating the blowing-up of Parliament, or the burning

of London. But if passion had abated, prejudice and estrangement remained.¹

The master of the house would offer an apology to his guests, if he asked them to meet a Catholic. There was at the same time no very precise idea what this Catholicism might be; viewed from afar it seemed an indescribable amalgamation of superstition, idolatry, and immorality.

One of its early converts² has observed on the subject that the English of this period were better acquainted with the customs of the Egyptians than with those of the Catholics, their fellow-countrymen who had remained attached to the Old Faith. There was a general dislike of conversation on the topic; and many lived through a long life without having once asked a single question about this mysterious Catholicism. Even the Liberals, who were then advocating Catholic Emancipation, showed less sympathy than contempt by their attitude, since they urged the insignificance and discredit of the Catholics to sustain their argument that there would be no danger in doing them justice.

Of this condition of affairs, so completely vanished that we have some difficulty nowadays in even imagining it, a

¹ Observers have, however, noted certain facts which, at the close of the last century and the commencement of this, tended to decrease the prejudice against the Catholics. These were: First, the immigration to England of thousands of French priests, proscribed by the Revolution, who were well received and who commanded, by their virtues, the respect of their hosts; and, secondly, the influence of the novels of Sir Walter Scott, which accustomed the English imagination to sympathise with personages of the Catholic Faith. In October, 1896, Monseigneur Harnet gave a lecture at Nottingham on "Sir Walter Scott and the Revival of Catholic Sympathies."

² Canon Oakeley.

witness, whose authority ranks high with all parties, has drawn a striking picture.

Newman, in a sermon delivered some years after his conversion,¹ and evoking memories still fresh, set forth the aspect under which Catholicism and Catholics had appeared to him in his youth.

In England (he said) there no longer existed a Catholic Church, nor even a Catholic Community; only a scanty number of adherents of the Old Religion, silent and melancholy, like a memory of what had been.

The Roman Catholics were not a sect—a body which, however small, is representative of the great community outside; they were simply a handful of individuals who could be counted like pebbles, or the débris of a great flood.

Here, it would be a band of poor Irish, coming and going at harvest-times, or a colony of the same race in a miserable quarter of the great Metropolis; there, perchance, an aged man, who would be seen walking in the street, grave, solitary, and strange, though of noble aspect—of whom someone would remark that he was of good family, and a Roman Catholic. Or again, it might be a house, of old-fashioned style and sombre appearance, enclosed behind great walls and with an iron gate shadowed by yew-trees, of which one would hear that it was “inhabited by Roman Catholics!” But who these Roman Catholics were, and what they did, and what one meant by calling them Roman Catholics, was not in any way explained; and one only knew that it sounded bad, and suggested formalism and superstition.

Not very different from this was the sort of knowledge

¹ “The Second Spring,” preached at Oscott, July 13, 1852.

the pagans of old had of the Early Christians, when they were persecuting the Faithful, and desirous of wiping them from the face of the earth, when they gave them the name of *gens lucifuga*—the people who shunned the daylight!

Catholics were to be found only in the remote parts of England; in by-ways, in caves, in garrets, in the solitude of the country, separated from those in whose midst they dwelt, and dimly discerned through a misty twilight of obscurity, like phantoms, fleeing now here, now there, before the haughty Protestants, the masters of the earth.

At length they became so feeble, and sank so low that pity began to be born of disdain, and the more generous of their tyrants to grow anxious to accord them some favour; under the conviction that their opinions were too absurd to gain proselytes, and that they themselves, if once given a more important position in the State, would not be slow to renounce their doctrines, and be ashamed of them. Such was the picture that Newman drew.

A sign even more significant than the contempt of the Protestants was the sense that the Catholics themselves had of their annihilation. By dint of having been for centuries outside the Laws, strangers to the public and private life of their fellow-countrymen, subjected to a social proscription which made itself even more felt than the legal one, they had become accustomed to the condition of pariahs, and could almost be described as a separate race, without admixture or relations with any other, resigned to its own inferiority, and handing on a nameless heritage of degradation, like a people long conquered and dominated by their conquerors.

Some of these Catholics became embarrassed, and almost ashamed, of their religion; they sought to dis-

simulate it with their neighbours, and to make them pardon it, by minimizing it as much as possible; notably, by displaying in their attitude towards the Pope an independence which approached rebellion. With many others, it is true, tribulation and isolation merely served to deepen their faith, and to make it more invulnerable. Far from courting the good graces of the society which excluded them they turned away from it with distrust and resentment. But even among these there was no thought of revenge or of the offensive; stubbornly self-centred, taking the initiative in nothing, more prepared to suffer than to fight, they never for a single moment supposed it possible for Rome to regain the Kingdom of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; they limited their ambition to saving their own souls, and preserving their own honours, and they lived by memory, not by hope.

Such was Catholicism in England in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. To-day what a change! In place of 160,000 Catholics there can be counted, in England alone, exclusive of Ireland and Scotland, about 1,500,000. In place of the 4 lowly Vicars-Apostolic and their 400 priests, there is a normally constituted hierarchy, with 17 Bishops, an Archbishop, 3,000 priests, and Religious Orders of every kind.

Conversions, though slightly diminished by recent incidents, are still, on the evidence of Cardinal Vaughan, about six hundred a month.¹ These are, without doubt, partly made up for by the defection of the original Catholic families, mostly poverty-stricken, transplanted to exclusively Protestant centres—a mournful deficit which the

¹ Letter of Cardinal Vaughan to Father Ragey (*L'Anglo-Catholicism*, by Le Père Ragey, p. 29).

zeal of the clergy labours to arrest; but what is thus lost is not, in any way, comparable in social and intellectual importance to what is gained by conversions. Churches, chapels, convents, everywhere multiplied, and far from seeking concealment, rise in the midst of cities, and by their outward adornment proclaim on high the Faith of the faithful. At this moment, in the heart of London, within a few steps of Westminster Abbey, rise the walls of a great Cathedral which will be one of the most imposing edifices of the city. All the liturgical splendours of which English Catholicism was for centuries deprived, are displayed in the interiors of such churches. Better still, the cult extends outside them, and, in the streets of the town or across the country, processions with banners, crucifix, priests and acolytes in their robes, show themselves more freely than is the case in many Catholic countries. Witness, for instance, the imposing ceremonies of which the thirteenth centenary of the landing of St. Augustine was the occasion.

Save for some few survivals, ever growing fewer, of Protestant fanaticism, the public looks on, without emotion, sometimes even with sympathy and respect, at the demonstrations which formerly exasperated them. It is of this change that one of these survivals, the aged Bishop of Liverpool, has recently spoken with melancholy astonishment. In an address to his clergy,¹ the Bishop lamented that he no longer saw around him "that aversion to papistry" which was not long since almost universal in his country; he reproached his co-religionists with seeing in Romanism merely one of the many forms of religion in England, neither better nor worse than the rest; even,

¹ Published in the *Rock* for November 12, 1897.

with sometimes making a comparison between it and Protestantism, which was not to the advantage of the latter. Then, after having declared that people nowadays thought it good form to forget the great blessing of the Reformation, he denounced, with indignation and alarm, this change in the language and the sentiments of Englishmen. Legally and socially, scarcely anything is left of the old line of demarcation between Catholics and the rest of the nation. "The two Races" are reconciled and fused; the papist has once more become an Englishman like everyone else, having the same sentiments and the same rights.¹ Moreover, there is hardly a family of any importance which does not include one or more converts. The Catholics have gained a footing in Parliament, occupying forty-one seats in the House of Lords, and being almost invariably represented in the Government by some member of their Church—for example, Lord Ripon in the Liberal Cabinet, the Duke of Norfolk in Lord Salisbury's Government, and so on.

From one particular quarter, they had persisted in excluding themselves, after the Law had opened the gate for them: at the instance of their ecclesiastical authorities, they denied themselves the privilege of sending their sons to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But this prohibition has been recently removed, and Catholic youths have begun to frequent the two great Universities; the clergy even send there some members of their own order, the Jesuits having a house at Oxford, and the Benedictines and secular priests one at Cambridge.

¹ It is now only required that the King or Queen, the direct heirs to the Crown, the Lord Chancellor, and the Viceroy of Ireland, shall be Protestants.

For those who know the intellectual and social influence of these Universities in English life, and the importance of the bonds of fellowship that are formed within them, such a fact is big with consequences. More than all the rest, it will contribute to the breaking-down of what still remains of the old barriers, and make possible the attainment of that end which Manning, in 1867, set before his co-religionists, when he insisted on the necessity of putting the Catholic Church in contact with the national intelligence and the national conscience.

And it is not only for Catholics, considered as individuals, that a place has been made in English society—it is for the Church herself.

Her dignitaries, recently proscribed, or, at any rate, ignored, are now recognized as high moral authorities. We have seen Cardinal Manning, and, after him, Cardinal Vaughan, called to sit, at the side of Anglican prelates, at public ceremonies, or on the committees of great philanthropic or ethical undertakings.¹ Etiquette seems even disposed to recognize the precedence due to the title of Cardinal. Was there not a rumour, last year, to the effect that Cardinal Vaughan was to be made a peer? An unfounded rumour, it is true, but considered sufficiently probable to provoke in Protestant coteries, protests the nature of which appeared to disquiet nobody else. It is more than an official importance, it is a veritable popularity which has been attained by certain great English Catholics, of which the deaths of Newman

¹ At a recent synod of Anglican Bishops, the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a garden-party at his Palace at Lambeth, and invited Cardinal Vaughan, who accepted the invitation.

and Manning gave us an opportunity of judging; their funeral ceremonies had the nature of national demonstrations. The portraits of these two illustrious converts have been given places of honour in their respective colleges of Oriel and Balliol, and the statue of the former has been erected in London, on the open space before the Oratory.

In the year 1897, the English celebrated (we know with what enthusiasm) the "Diamond Jubilee" of their Queen. They made it the occasion for passing in review the events which had been accomplished during the Victorian Era, for congratulating themselves on the results obtained and glorying in the progress realized. We may guess that the Catholics of England were not among the last to associate themselves with this *Te Deum* of patriotism; and their spokesman, Cardinal Vaughan, appropriately celebrated, as in a song of triumph and gratitude, the astonishing transformation which had been worked in England, "under the protection of civil and religious liberty, guaranteed by English legislation."

The Cardinal added that they recalled these facts, not to make a foolish boast of them, but in thankfulness for the hospitality England had shown them; and above all, in gratitude to God who had rebuilt the walls of Zion.¹

III

Although the progress of the Catholic Church in England, during the last sixty years, has been sufficiently remarkable, a phenomenon even more striking is the renaissance, during the same period, of Catholic ideas in

¹ Pastoral letter of Cardinal Vaughan on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee.

the English Church itself. In order to understand more clearly how unexpected such a renaissance was, we will cast, first of all, a rapid glance over the first three centuries of the history of that Church. We shall then see in what an absolutely contrary direction it had developed during that time, and how, after being, to begin with, a mixture, sufficiently incongruous, of Catholicism and Protestantism, it seemed condemned to become, with time, ever more and more Protestant.

The schism which the despotic caprice of Henry VIII. imposed on a servile clergy tended at first merely to substitute the supremacy of the King for that of the Pope. There was no question of tampering with any of the other dogmas of that ancient Church of which the Reformers prided themselves on remaining an integral part. Individuals who tried to utilize the rupture for the propagation of the novel Continental Protestantism were repudiated and punished. Scarcely a single change was made in the exteriors of worship; it was only the monasteries that had been suppressed, and their possessions stolen. But the revolt could not, for any length of time, confine itself within such limits. In the succeeding reign of Edward VI., the governing party, infected by the notions of Zwingli and Calvin, mutilated the dogmas and the liturgy of the Church. The Mass was proscribed, the altars thrown down and replaced by tables,¹ and the churches despoiled, while the priests received a general licence to take to themselves wives.

It is true that this revolution was far from being

¹ One of the so-called Reformers of the English Church, in the sixteenth century, wrote: "We use an altar for sacrificing; we use a table for eating bread."

universally accepted, and that, for the time, it resulted in very little more than a state of great confusion and religious anarchy. Also, when after some years of this régime, the crown passed to Mary Tudor, the first measures which she took to re-establish the Catholic Religion were accepted with sentiments of relief, and it would not have been difficult, by employing moderation and tact, for her to have effaced all trace of the schism. But, unfortunately, the ill-timed violence of a policy which appeared to be more Spanish than English, exasperated the popular mind. After a five years' reign, Mary died—before she had had time to complete her enterprise, but not before she had seriously compromised the cause she had professed to serve.

Thus it was that her sister and heir, Elizabeth, seemed, by resuming the hostile attitude towards the Pope, to be giving satisfaction to the national sentiment. Not that Elizabeth had any personal leanings towards Calvinism; she would gladly have remained faithful to the "headless Catholicism"—the Church without a supreme Bishop—of her father, Henry VIII. But she was not permitted to follow her own inclinations. The pressure of the Puritans (a party-name which then came into use), who were eager to take their revenge for the persecutions of the preceding reign, joined with the influence of the political struggle, in which the Queen soon found herself involved against the Pope and Spain—even the necessity of the situation in which she had been placed by the rupture with Rome—obliged her to accentuate the Protestantism of her Church, more than her own taste directed.

Vainly she tried to retard the movement. Towards the

end of her reign it was Puritanism which prevailed, particularly in London and the other great centres of population.

With the advent of the Stuarts came the return to activity of a party which deplored the recent Protestant ravages. A remarkable band of theologians—the first which the English Episcopate had produced since the Reformation—attempted to construct a system of religion, which, while professing itself opposed to “Romish abuses,” preserved as much as possible the ideas and outward forms of Catholicism. Two great representatives of this party were Andrewes and Laud: the former a man of thought and scholarship, the latter a man of action and strife. They were favoured by the Crown, which saw in this religious reaction the complement of its own policy. The Puritans, on the other hand, far from letting themselves be intimidated, attacked more fiercely than ever everything that professed to retain or to re-establish Catholicism, whether in the hierarchy, the Articles of Belief, or the forms of worship. Since their adversaries had the support of the King, they allied *their* cause to a liberal policy, which soon became revolutionary also. In this struggle, the school of Catholic tendencies followed the fortunes of the Stuarts, and shared their increasing unpopularity. Archbishop Laud was impeached, like the minister Strafford, and he preceded by some years his master, Charles I., on the scaffold. The result of the Civil War was the triumph of the Puritans, and a Presbyterian Calvinism supplanted the Episcopal Church, which was disorganized and proscribed.

It is true that the storm was as short-lived as it was violent. Soon the Restoration appeared as a favourable

occasion of re-establishing the Church on the principles of Andrewes and Laud, who had left behind them a whole school of theologians—the “Caroline Divines.” Then was drawn up and promulgated the final edition of the *Prayer-Book*—the one in which the sacramental and sacerdotal character of the English Church is most brought into relief.¹

By its own excesses, Puritanism had, no doubt, contributed to the reaction. Until the Revolution its aim had been, not to overthrow the English Church, but to dominate her; but the use it had made of its momentous victory showed its complete incompatibility with the Church, from which it was forced to separate itself openly, and to create a rival community. So originated the Dissenters, or Nonconformists; yet this exodus did not leave the rival party supreme—the Protestant virus had penetrated too deeply for that. Besides those resolute Protestants who had broken with the Established Church, there were many others, more timid, who remained within her membership, and, by their prejudices, opposed a passive but powerful resistance to the followers of Andrewes and Laud. Moreover, the strange régime to which men’s consciences had been submitted for more

¹ The *Prayer-Book* (the book of the official prayers of the Anglican Church) is a compilation from Catholic sources—the Breviary, the Missal, the ritual, the Pontifical. It contains all that is necessary to the worship and the ceremonial. Drawn up in 1549, it has been successively revised in 1552, 1559, and 1662. The High Church party has always leaned upon the *Prayer-Book*. It believes that, thanks to the authority of this book, never quite repudiated, a certain Catholic tradition has always been maintained in the Church of England. When Mr. Gladstone was once asked how he had passed from the Low Church ideas, in which he had been brought up, to those of the High Church, he answered that it was through studying the “Occasional Offices” of the Book of Common Prayer.

than a century, the spectacle of a Church so many times transformed, at the will of royal caprice or popular passion, the contradictory creeds imposed one after another on a servile clergy by successive Governments, must surely have had the effect of confusing principles, and teaching a kind of dogmatic indifference.

Thus commenced to appear a mental attitude which was soon to dominate the Established Church—namely, latitudinarianism, no less opposed than Puritanism itself to any renewal of the bond of Catholic tradition. In addition, the alliance with the Stuarts was, once again, fatal to the partisans of that tradition. Vainly had they showed, on certain points, opposition to James II.; they found themselves, perforce, at the fall of that prince, in the camp of the vanquished, while the Protestant party, on the contrary, believed their cause established, counting on the sympathies of the Calvinist William III.

The blow dealt by the Revolution of 1688 to the party which now began to be distinguished by the title *High Church*, was soon afterwards made more serious by a kind of suicidal self-devotion on the part of its best members. We mean the non-jurors—those four hundred priests and eight bishops, including the Primate of Canterbury, who thought themselves bound to refuse the oath of allegiance to the usurper, and who, deprived of their posts, were replaced by men of the opposite party. In vain did the High Churchman attempt a last rally in the reign of Anne, who, at heart, was with them. They could not recover the lost ground; and the accession of George I. marked their definitive defeat. Thenceforth the predominance belonged, without dispute, to a latitudinarianism which viewed every kind of enthusiasm with disdain and dis-

trust, prided itself on "a rational religion," and, while careful to maintain the ecclesiastical organism, was indifferent to doctrine, regarding the creed as a piece of conventional phraseology, which did not engage the conscience, and having for its own expression a cold and empty form of worship, or that sacramental life or æsthetic symbolism, performed in temples despoiled of everything which could recall the days of Catholicism.

Yet there were men who suffered under this state of things. A complacent philosophy, which reduced Christianity to the science of happiness and the maintenance of respectability, had no message for their inner conviction of sins to be atoned for and remitted, souls to be saved, an ideal of holiness to be realized. A Christ, who had been reduced to an abstract and lifeless entity, could not satisfy those who needed a living and suffering Saviour, whom they could love, and who was able to console and to forgive them. Thus, in the midst of the eighteenth century, arose two religious movements—Methodism and Evangelicalism—which both seemed in complete contradiction to the spirit of the time.

Methodism, the first in point of date, was inaugurated about 1738 by Wesley and Whitefield. In a society which has become a stranger to the things of God, the Methodists, by the simple employment of the Apostolic ministry and of charity, succeeded in re-awaking the sentiments of Religion, sorrow for sin, fear of hell, love towards Christ. They occupied themselves, above all, with the humble and the suffering, whom the wealthy Church of England ignored, in the mining and manufacturing districts, where the nucleus of a democratic working-class had begun to form. They preached in the open air, some-

times to crowds of twenty or thirty thousand persons, interrupted by the sobs, the outcries, and even the convulsions of their hearers. One would have believed oneself back in the thirteenth century; and historians of the other side of the Channel are fond of comparing Wesley to St. Francis of Assisi. The comparison is a little ambitious. Without doubt, the founder of Methodism had the qualities which caused Newman to say of him that he was "the shadow of a Catholic saint"; but he lacked the moderation, the good sense, and the humility which Catholic discipline added to the heroic inspiration of "the Poor Man of Assisi."

Delivered over to himself, without restraint or direction, the zeal of John Wesley, admirable though it often was, only resulted, a little against his own wish, in the detachment from the Established Church of yet one more Protestant sect, which was itself speedily to subdivide and split into opposing parties.

From the point of view which now concerns us, this sect estranged itself, even more than the official Anglicanism, from Catholic forms and Catholic ideas. Its imperfect and crude theology, where there was less of doctrine than of sentiment, sensation, and even nervous hallucination, had a pronounced Protestant savour. It was attached to the dogma of justification by faith alone, and even, where its more extreme members were concerned, to that of absolute Predestination, interpreted with all the severity of Calvinism. Add to this that, in separating itself from the Established Church, Methodism had been naturally led to deny the value of the Apostolic succession, and to contest the authority of the Episcopate, and even the privilege of the priesthood—in a word, to reject everything which

Anglicanism had tried to retain of the Catholic organism. The preacher became a minister by the simple fact of his interior vocation, which entitled him not only to teach, but to administer the Sacraments. Here, certainly, we have a Puritanism of the most advanced and complete type.

Following in the wake of Methodism, and having somewhat the same inspiration, the Evangelical Movement is distinguished by having taken place within the Established Church, and by resulting in no departure from it.

By the end of the eighteenth century, Evangelicism had triumphed over the opposition and the contempt which had attended its beginnings; and if it did not dominate the entire English Church, it had penetrated into many parts of it, manifesting itself not only by a development of individual piety, but by an impulse given to philanthropic works, such as the abolition of the slave trade. Wilberforce is the great name in this philanthropic school. But of the Evangelicals, even more, perhaps, than the Methodists, we must say that, far from furthering Catholic ideas, all their principles tended to thrust Anglicanism deeper into Protestantism. They had scarcely any notion of the Church as a living and visible body, of the Episcopate as the depository of the Apostolic Succession, or the priest as the minister of sacraments. The sacramental dogma was a thing about which they gave themselves small concern. The doctrine of the Real Presence appeared to them a gross superstition.

The foundation of the religious life was, in their eyes, justification by faith and the personal accident of conversion. Conversion they interpreted somewhat in the fashion of the Methodists. It was a sudden transforma-

tion of the soul, which felt itself freed from sin by an intimate assurance given it by God, and quite independent of any sacramental succour or priestly interference. To the Evangelical, the dissenter, of whatever sect, was a brother, while the Papist was a detested and formidable enemy. The Evangelist's chief desire was to preserve Anglicanism from everything that smacked, however slightly, of Catholicism.

Thus, from the revolt of Henry VIII. to the first quarter of the nineteenth century we see one law in operation. We see that, of the two elements which at first professed to combine in the Anglican Church, but in reality at once became antagonists, the Protestant element has always gained a final advantage. Save for a few passing oscillations, this Church has steadily receded, not only from the Pope, with whom she had broken from the very first, but also from those Catholic ideas and ceremonies which she had, at the beginning of the estrangement, appeared anxious to preserve. Let us consider her, as she appeared, about the year 1820 or 1830, at the close of that continuous descent towards Protestantism. It seemed as if she were more occupied with observing the points in which she had separated from Catholicism than in seeking any common ground of doctrine.

With regard to the fundamental dogma of the Eucharist, her ardour in condemning the transubstantiation of the Roman theology had caused her to lose all sense of a real objective presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the consecrated elements. The adoration of the Virgin, intercession of Saints, Purgatory, prayers for the dead, confession and the power of priestly absolution, were all

repudiated, and no proposal to return to them could be made without causing a scandal. Of the fasts and abstinences prescribed by the ancient discipline practically nothing remained. The old devotions were rejected with distrust, when they were not absolutely forgotten and ignored. There was no spiritual life. Except Sunday, scarcely a feast-day was observed ; not even Ascension Day, though it had a special office in the Prayer-Book. Good Friday was merely a bank-holiday, and, except in some large towns, was not sanctified by any religious service.

On the other hand, the solemnity of the Fifth of November, commemorating the Popish Plot of Guy Fawkes, was the object of a devotion which time had not cooled. Then, with a mixture of potations and sermons, both equally patriotic, the victory of English Protestantism over Spanish or French Catholicism was exalted to the skies, not only as a memory of the remote past, but as a fact of yesterday which to-morrow might reproduce ; and to the official prayers responded the clamours of the mob, which paraded the streets, and wound up the festivities by burning a puppet representing the Pope.

Nor was it only for the populace that the Bishop of Rome figured as "the man of sin" and "the false prophet." Newman has told us that he himself required time to get rid of this early idea.¹

¹ Sergeant Bellasis, who was converted to Catholicism in 1851, says that his parents, pious upright members of the Church of England, were accustomed, up to 1849, to repeat daily the following prayer : "O Lord, we beseech thee, confound all heresies and errors, and defeat the machinations of Popery, whether within or outside the Church. May all the devices of the Bishop of Rome against the sacred truth be brought to nought. Grant, O Lord, that the Papacy may soon suffer its final defeat, and Babylon, so long condemned, cease to oppress the earth."

It was in vain that Anglicanism, unlike the majority of the Protestant communions, had preserved the outward decorum of an Episcopate. She had none the less lost the Catholic idea of the Church as a divinely constituted society, founded by Christ, and governed by a hierarchy which ascended, by gradations, towards Him, and remained distinct from, and independent of, all secular governments, having her own life within herself, the right to rule herself and to determine her own doctrines.

The Established Church appeared to be no more than a creation of the State; charged, under its supremacy, with the department of religion and morals, having her Bishops nominated by the Prince, her laws and even her dogmas regulated by the Parliament, and her interior disputes judged by civil tribunals.

There was nothing which could be likened to the Catholic priesthood, with its celibacy and its ideal of ascetic renunciation and supernatural mysticism; or to our ministers, marked off and separated from the world by the sacerdotal seal, and invested with the functions of sacrifice and absolution.

The Anglican clergyman would have been astonished, and almost shocked, if anyone had called him a priest. Married, occupied with his family, living the ordinary life of the world (perhaps that of a scholar, or of a country squire), he regarded himself as discharging a mere social function, which did not essentially differ from any other, except in obliging him to a somewhat stricter decorum.

The very name of the Mass was proscribed, the Liturgy impoverished and mutilated—natural consequences of a doctrine which was opposed to the sacrifice of the altar and to the Real Presence. During the celebration of the

Eucharist, the celebrant would stand at the side of the table which had replaced the altar, with the obvious determination not to imitate the Catholic priest, who takes up a central position, his back to the congregation, and, as it were, face to face with his God. As for the communicants, they would either sit or stand—to kneel was the exception. Again, this celebration, which was called the Administration of the Lord's Supper, far from being a daily act of worship, took place only at long intervals, in the majority of the churches three or four times, or even once, in a year; and often with so little decorum that, according to some saddened spectators, complete abstention would have been preferable.

As a rule, the Sunday services were confined to the reading of psalms, lessons, and a sermon—a performance of Calvinistic frigidity; and the churches were in harmony with the worship they celebrated. Generally closed during the week, their aspect was often one of neglect; their walls whitewashed and bare. Instead of the decorated Altar, conspicuous at the end of the Sanctuary, a point to which all else converged, one saw only a plain table of wood, scarcely visible, often in a pitiable condition, and resembling a kitchen table.

On it stood neither cross, candles, nor tabernacle, while in front of it, sometimes hiding it, rose the desk, where the prayers and lessons were read, and the pulpit, where sermons were delivered, facing the high pews and galleries which blocked the nave and the west end.

One realized that this reading-desk and this pulpit had become the principal things; that here was no longer a church consecrated for sacrifice, but a mere preaching-hall.

Both in principles and in outward forms there was

nothing without the stamp of Protestantism. Besides, if any member of the Church of England, cleric or layman, ignorant or learned, had been asked at this period whether he were a Protestant or a Catholic, he would have thought the questioner was jesting. He was a Protestant, glorying in the fact. It is true that he believed himself to be in possession of a special brand of Protestantism, which, like all English commodities, was superior to articles of the same name in use on the Continent. But this was only a difference of quality, not of nature. The very word Catholic called up to him a vision of a medley of superstitions, from which it was the glory of his forefathers to have escaped three centuries before, and with which he could not suppose it possible to have anything in common.

IV

It was about 1833, when Protestantism seemed to have obtained a definite victory in the Established Church, that suddenly the wind began to veer, and the tide to turn towards Catholicism. Before long we find, not Anglicans as a whole, but a certain group of them, labouring enthusiastically to revive, one by one, nearly all the dogmas and practices which for three centuries their forefathers had so doggedly striven to overthrow.

In 1866 Manning testified that this was a movement contrary to the current of Protestant tradition and prejudice. He declared that the polarity of England had been changed, and that the rivers which once flowed northward now flowed to the south.¹

Was this revival fostered or inaugurated by outside

¹ *England and Christendom*, Introduction and Letter on the Reunion of Christendom.

circumstances? Was it in harmony with the then prevalent ideas, or encouraged by the ruling authorities of the day? It would be folly to assert that in the England of John Stuart Mill, Carlyle, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Jowett, and Arthur Stanley, there was any tendency towards a more dogmatic, authoritative, and supernatural religion. The intellectual currents tended rather towards positivism, agnosticism, and criticism, or at the most towards a religion which so feared to become dogmatic that it was really little more than a sentiment. As to social authorities, the leaders of this movement had not even one on their side. Though they belonged to the University of Oxford, this same University disowned and denounced them; though they were members of the clergy, their own Bishops condemned them. Of the leading politicians of the day, some, like Disraeli, regarded them with contempt; others, like John Russell and Palmerston, with aversion. In the Courts of Justice, judgment went against them. The more important newspapers and reviews were, on the whole, hostile to them, while their very churches were assailed by mobs with the cry "No Popery!" But it was from within their ranks, not from outside, that the most staggering blow was struck—a blow that might well have brought their cause to irretrievable ruin. I speak, of course, of the secession of their most eminent leaders, Newman, Manning, the two Wilberforces, and so many others, who, by entering the Church of Rome, proclaimed the failure of Anglo-Catholicism and appeared to justify the attacks of its adversaries. Yet in spite of all these difficulties, the reaction towards Catholicism germinated and developed in the midst of the Established Church.

The result is easily seen. Ask the Anglicans of to-day whether they are Protestant or Catholic. They will indignantly repudiate the term "Protestant," looking on it as an insult and an injury, and will claim the right to be called "Catholic," priding themselves on possessing none but Catholic beliefs and practices. Far from being satisfied, as were their predecessors, with a religion entirely English—after the style of the Ancient Hebrews, who could scarcely conceive of Jehovah as belonging to any nation but their own—they realize that religious truth cannot be thus insulated. They try to persuade themselves that in spite of the schism of the sixteenth century—which they look upon merely as a passing misfortune—they still remain a branch of the Catholic Church, and they maintain that, notwithstanding all that has happened, a kind of spiritual unity still exists. They are not particularly proud of the so-called Reformers who brought about the birth of their own Church. Indeed, they sometimes declare openly that they were in the wrong, and invariably appear more anxious to trace their descent from St. Gregory and St. Augustine than from Henry VIII. and Cranmer.

If we enter any of the "High" churches, ever growing in numbers, which the Anglicans of this School frequent, we shall find that its aspect is decidedly Catholic. The raised altar of stone or marble, richly ornamented, decorated with flowers and candles, surmounted by a cross (and often by a crucifix), has been restored to its old prominence and dignity, and attracts the eye at once. Behind it, the reredos, often of great magnificence, may represent the crucifixion, or the Madonna surrounded by saints. Other altars, in the aisles, are dedicated to the Blessed

Virgin, St. Joseph, or the Sacred Heart. All around are statues and pictures, and on the walls the Stations of the Cross. Lamps burn at the entrance to the sanctuary, and before certain images, and banners representing our Lady or the Blessed Sacrament hang from the pillars. Special places are marked off for the hearing of confessions, and sometimes, by the door, a stoup of holy water is seen. In these churches, Mass—no longer a forbidden word—has become the principal act of worship. It is celebrated every day, and sometimes more than once a day, either as Low Mass or as *Missa Cantata* in full pomp, with deacons, acolytes, and incense. As to the ceremonial, the prayers, vestments, and actions of the celebrant are copied almost entirely from our liturgy, and we might think ourselves in a Catholic Church but for hearing the prayers said in English. It is even said that some of the more advanced ritualists are now beginning to use Latin. In some cases the re-establishment of Mass does not suffice, and the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the sprinkling of holy water, and the public recitation of the Litanies and the Rosary, are borrowed wholesale from Catholicism. Festivals that have been long neglected, or even wilfully ignored, are now observed—not only the Ascension, but also the Assumption, All Souls' Day, and Corpus Christi. The offices of Holy Week have been revived, including the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, and more than one clergyman has attended the Benedictine School of Solesmes for tuition in the Gregorian chant.

These changes in the outer ceremonial are only the result of more important doctrinal changes. The doctrine of the Real Presence, which Pusey, half a century ago, could not preach without being anathematized as a

"romanizer," is more openly professed by High Churchmen, though in a subtly modified form, to bring it into accord with the words in the Thirty-nine Articles, which repudiate transubstantiation. Moreover, many profess to accept the doctrine of the actual sacrifice of the Body of Christ in the Mass, in the sense in which it is taught by certain theologians of the Roman Church. With regard to these two points, the letter of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, dated February 19, 1897, in reply to the Papal Bull, is significant, though not entirely free from ambiguity. But that the two Primates should thus endeavour to satisfy those who hold Catholic opinions on these subjects, was a novel and important fact. Many other doctrinal changes may also be noted. For instance, while rejecting certain materialistic doctrines of Purgatory, which are by no means an essential part of Roman theology, there is a tendency in the High Church to believe in an after-death state of expectancy and suffering, which may be relieved by the prayers of the living. Prayers for the dead have become quite customary, and notices of Requiem Mass are often seen. Even the Invocation of Saints and the Adoration of the Blessed Virgin are practised. Without doubt the historic origin and the political organization of the Church form stumbling-blocks, but nevertheless efforts are being made to free it from dependence on the State, and to re-establish in theory the long-forgotten idea that the Church is a Divine society, having her own independent life and autonomy. Even the Apostolic Succession is now claimed as the source and fountain-head of episcopal and sacerdotal power. The principle of Baptismal Regeneration, until lately obscured, is now clearly affirmed,

while a still more unexpected revolution has taken place with regard to the Sacrament of Penance.

Confession, so long denounced, is now practised by many Anglicans, and the Catholic rite used. The penitent kneels before a cross or crucifix, and the minister, vested in surplice and stole, pronounces the formula of absolution. This practice, at first regarded as a scandal, is growing daily, and it is no rare occurrence for some clergymen to spend a whole night hearing confessions on the eves of feast-days. There is also a movement in favour of a revival of Extreme Unction, the practice of which had entirely ceased.¹ The Catechisms in use in some High Church parishes are almost identical with ours, save for the doctrine concerning Papal infallibility; and some Anglican theologians even strive to reconcile with the formula of their Church the acknowledgment of a certain primacy of the Bishop of Rome.

High Church Anglicans appropriate not only Catholic dogma, but Catholic devotion. Their new ideal of heart-felt piety, mystic ardour, and asceticism, enkindles in them a desire to learn all they can from the Roman Church. The worship of the Eucharist, which had nearly fallen into oblivion, has been revived, and the consecrated elements, in which they believe God to be really present, are now considered as worthy of adoration. Confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament have been established, to increase this devotion and to atone for past negligences, as well as Holy Cross and Holy Rosary associations. In some parishes the months of Mary and of the Sacred Heart

¹ The *Church Times*, on May 20, 1898, mentions with satisfaction that the Anglican Bishop of Chicago had just re-established in his diocese the usage of the Unction for the sick.

are set aside for special devotions. Many observe the days of fasting and abstinence. The works of St. Francis of Sales, Fénelon, Lallemand, Grou, and many other Catholic theologians, have been translated, and are much appreciated. A manual in great request, containing prayers for Mass, specifies the celebrated prayer of St. Ignatius, *Anima Christi*, to be used at the time of Communion. The Saints of the Middle Ages are popular, especially St. Francis of Assisi. Pilgrimages take place, with ceremonies and processions similar to ours, and generally for the purpose of commemorating some Catholic tradition, such as the Iona celebrations in honour of St. Columba, and the Ebbsfleet commemoration of St. Augustine. There is, indeed, a kind of rivalry between Anglicans and Catholics as to which Church shall appropriate these sacred memories.

The clergymen of this school pride themselves on reviving the long-abandoned title of "priest," with all that the word implies of supernatural aspirations and privileges. Many of them habitually wear the cassock, as though to mark more clearly their separation from the world, and some practice and recommend celibacy. As a means of preparation for sacerdotal life, theological colleges have been founded in several dioceses, and attempts have been made to spread the practice of ecclesiastical retreats. The re-establishment of convents, whose destruction was one of the main objects of the Reformation, is a still more striking phenomenon. Anglicanism now has its monks and nuns, though the former are as yet few in number. Their rules and customs are copied from Catholic models. In some of these orders vows are taken and austerities practised, and the members are

occupied in prayer, works of charity, and missionary duties. Upon inquiring at an Anglican convent in London what book was used during a retreat for women of the upper classes, I was answered by the Superior: "*The Exercises of St. Ignatius.*"

Can anyone deny that this new form of Anglicanism is vastly different from that of the early days of the nineteenth century, and is much more nearly akin to Catholicism? In a speech delivered at Ramsgate on the occasion of the thirteenth centenary of St. Augustine, Cardinal Vaughan is reported to have said:

"To the great honour of those who formerly attacked the Catholic doctrine, it must now be admitted that they have become its adherents and upholders. Those who formerly destroyed altars and despoiled churches now rebuild and embellish them; those who censured auricular confession now hear confessions; those who blasphemed the Mass now say Mass; those who denied the priestly powers of Rome now claim the possession and the exercise of those powers. Iconoclasts have replaced in their niches the statues of the Mother of God and of the Saints, in order to honour them. In fact the change, the conversion, wrought in England during this century is without parallel in the annals of Christianity. 'Non fecit taliter omni nationi.'"

In order to prevent misunderstanding, however, it must be repeated that this reaction affects one section of Anglicans only. The rest remain entirely estranged, indifferent, and often decidedly hostile, stirring up popular opinion against Roman innovations introduced into Anglican worship and education. It is difficult to determine in what proportion the Anglican Church is divided, as to the partisans and opponents of these changes. Classification is very difficult in a land of in-

dividualism, where each one chooses his own religion, adopting in doctrine and practice that which appeals to his own individual sentiments. The anti-ritualistic agitation is not a safe guide, for many who take a prominent part in it are not members of the Established Church, but are more or less avowed Dissenters. Granted that the so-called Anglo-Catholics are only a minority, nevertheless they form the most active, fervent, and progressive party in the Anglican Church, and their importance is sufficiently proved by the violence of the war waged against them. The leaders of this war, by the vehemence of their denunciations and the excess of their hostility, are the best witnesses to the progress that Catholic ideas and practices have made in the Anglican communion.

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The reader will naturally ask himself how far this return to ancient belief and practices is likely to be permanent. Doubtless the Low Church party, though out of date and much weakened, is still numerous, and tends towards Calvinism rather than Catholicism. The Broad Church school, younger and more vigorous, follows its bent towards scepticism, or at least towards dogmatic indifference combined with a regard for externals—a state of mind which represents the religion of many in England. But is there not some hope that the High Church party, or at least its more advanced members, may reach what appears to be their logical goal and return to Catholicism? The question, even thus limited, is full of interest, for it refers to the flower of the Anglican Church, and it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the effect which

would be made, on Catholicism itself as well as on their own country, were such men to become Catholics.

Let us, however, be under no illusion. The obstacles to conversion are great, and the old Protestant prejudices, though much lessened, still exist. Their power is diminished, their direction is changed, but they still hold sway over numerous Anglicans, and although inert and incapable of any creative effort, are of sufficient strength to quell a movement. In the High Church party itself these prejudices seem to have revived of late, not merely owing to the passing irritation caused by the Papal Bull, but almost as though the attraction which is drawing minds towards Catholicism has by that very means renewed old antipathies, so that the nearer conversion seems, the more violently is it resisted. Hence the increasing bitterness in the tone of some controversialists.¹ The Archbishop of York, writing to a French priest, Father Ragey, alluded to this when he stated that the Anglican Church became daily more Catholic, but at the same time more anti-Roman.

It is hardly to be expected that the triple bonds which unite the English people to their official Church—a Church that they rejoice in calling “Anglican”—can be easily severed. From time immemorial, Englishmen have been disposed to believe in the perfection of everything English, and the recent Jubilee celebrations (1897) have further emphasized their national pride. Their long-continued prosperity has given rise to the somewhat Judaic idea that their religion must be pleasing to God. Their

¹ Dr. Littledale, the author of *Plain Reasons against Joining the Church of Rome*, one of the most acrimonious works ever written against Catholicism, was at one time an ardent Ritualist.

patriotism revolts at the thought of exchanging it for one belonging to nations which they regard as inferior, and like the Pharisee in the Gospel they are rather inclined to give thanks to God that their prayers are not like those of the "publicans" of France and Italy. Many, of course, hold a less narrow view, which enables them to realize and deplore the weaknesses and shortcomings of their own Church. The efforts made to catholicize it, during the past seventy years, have tended to dissipate these fears, and to strengthen the wavering in their faith. All that pious souls formerly yearned after and were tempted to seek in the Roman Church—such as the sacramental life, ritual, devotion, mysticism and asceticism—are now found, as they fondly believe, in their own communion. Why, then, they ask, should they seek elsewhere for this consolation, and face the sacrifices and heartbreakings consequent upon a change of religion? Great efforts have been made to justify, historically and theologically, this *via media* between Catholicism and Protestantism on which the promoters of Anglo-Catholicism had such difficulty in finding a footing. Many scholars have devoted themselves to the task. They believe that they have found an answer to the objections which caused the defection of a Newman and a Manning, and have secured a safe foothold upon the slope that seemed as if it must necessarily lead to Rome. In addressing Catholics they maintain that, owing to this work, their Church has now an increased confidence in the rightfulness of her intermediate position, and that it has brought her a greater peace and steadfastness. The desire to cope with the Papal Bull has brought about a still more open affirmation of her rights. It is not merely to an appearance of

Catholicity that they lay claim, for in consequence of the extension of the British Empire and the ensuing spread of Anglicanism, their religion can now claim a certain universality, whereas formerly it was isolated in the British Isles. Quite recently at Lambeth Palace, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, two hundred Anglican Bishops from all parts of the world assembled in conference. They were not indeed able to formulate a single doctrine, or to agree upon any recognized and common organization, but the spirit of inconsistency and compromise in their religion does not trouble the English mind. Even those who seem most eager to catholicize the externals of Anglicanism are largely influenced by æsthetic curiosity and caprice. Unlike the first Tractarians, who shrank from no sacrifice to attain to the truth, they do not seem to be seeking it painfully and seriously, but are apparently affected, at heart, by the general evil of dogmatic indifference. It was an Anglican Bishop (Westcott) who, speaking recently of his co-religionists, said that he detected a "feeble note of uncertainty in many of their public professions of faith."

Notwithstanding the progress made during the past sixty years, and great as is the number of Catholic dogmas embraced by Anglicans, there still remains a wide abyss to be crossed before they arrive at true Catholicism. It is not merely a question of adding another dogma to those already accepted, but—what is much more difficult—of laying a new foundation for the religious life, of submitting to a new rule of faith, of substituting a living authority, with the right to teach and command, for that of private judgment which has hitherto held possession. Nothing could be more alien to the English

character, which has been accustomed for so long to decide every question for itself and to weigh religion in the scales of individual judgment. On close consideration, the Anglo-Catholic movement, far from showing a return to the principle of authority, is rather a manifestation of this independent private judgment. Each clergyman who has modified, and sometimes completely changed, the dogmatic teaching or the ceremonial of his Church, has done so by his own will—I had almost written, by his own fancy—acting according to his individual views, without other authority, and often against the wishes of his Bishop. So true is this that it might almost be said that Protestantism was never more manifest than when it began to show sympathy with Catholic ideas and ceremonies.

These are weighty reasons, which almost forbid us to indulge in the hopes which the changes of recent years seem to encourage. In any case we cannot ignore them, and must be cautious in our prognostications. But must we conclude that these obstacles are insurmountable, and that the movement is definitely arrested half-way?

Without doubt there remains a great deal of the Protestant spirit even in the most advanced High Church section, and we cannot deny that their conduct is an application of private judgment to religious matters. But has there ever been a conversion except by means of individual judgment? These Anglo-Catholics assuredly believe themselves firmly planted upon the *via media* between Catholicism and Protestantism, but they cannot long be blind to its weakness and inconsistency. Facts will bring them to a more reasonable state of mind. The more they try to realize the unity of the Church, the more they will have to establish its anarchy in doctrine

and discipline ; the more they strive to maintain its autonomy and independence, the more will they feel its subjection to the state which gave it birth, and the more evident will become its incapacity for self-government. Notwithstanding an appearance of universality, they will be forced to own that they are isolated and wholly separated from the body and head of Christianity. Nor will they find any lasting compensation in exchanging compliments with Bishops of the Russian Church, or priests styled " Old Catholics," who have separated from Rome on the score of marriage. Beneath the confident and boastful assertions lately made in reply to the Papal Bull, an unquiet and restless spirit can be felt—a spirit which can only increase with time. For the rest, we may trust to the Anglo-Protestants to demonstrate that there is no room for Anglo-Catholics in the Established Church, and that their position is untenable. This would be but the logical result of the noisy campaign which is now trying to force the Bishops and other legal and political authorities to take rigorous measures for the suppression of Ritualism.

It is true that the new awakening of religious life satisfies the devoutly inclined, who might otherwise have abandoned the Church of England, but the satisfaction obtained can only be transitory, inasmuch as the source from which it flows is artificial. To-day they rejoice in the truth and grace which they believe to have recovered ; to-morrow they will be harassed by having no certainty of its permanence. In proportion as their devotion to the Eucharist increases, they will require assurance that the power of transubstantiation really dwells in their Church. The more the habit of con-

fession grows upon them, the greater will be their desire for a guarantee that their ministers have power to pronounce a valid absolution—and so on. In this way, while taking the Catholic Church as their model, the prejudices which keep them from her fold will gradually disappear. The daily-growing imitation of Catholic ritual may in some cases put a momentary check on conversion, but its ultimate effect will be to familiarize souls with Roman practices, devotions, and dogmas, and thus to create habits, arouse desires, and awaken spiritual appetites that the Catholic Church alone can fully satisfy.

I cannot, then, share the opinion of some English Catholics who look upon Ritualism only as a temporary delay of some conversions, and regard it as a danger more serious than pure Protestantism, deriding it as a ridiculous masquerade, condemning it as an underhand counterfeit, suspecting it as a diabolical snare, even wondering if its followers are not, unknown to themselves, “marionettes in the hands of Satan.” Unfortunate and unjust words, that have been too often repeated, and have contributed in no small degree to alienate from the true Church souls who were rapidly approaching her! How can a movement owe its origin to Satan, which consists, after all, in a partial return to the truth, and on which Cardinal Vaughan congratulated himself as on a “half-conversion?”¹ Is not the tree to be judged by its fruit? This movement has resulted in a revival of heretofore extinct religious life. In many souls it has aroused piety, zeal, love of God, and many virtues that countries, nominally Catholic, might envy Protestant England, and

¹ Pastoral letter written on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

which Cardinals Manning and Vaughan hailed as the fruit of Divine Grace. It will be sufficient to remind those who wonder at the delay in some conversions that nearly all the converts of this century were once members of the High Church, and that this school of thought led them to the very gates of Catholicism, and bridged over, as it were, the abyss which once separated the Church of England from the true Church.¹ What interest could Satan have in the erection of such a bridge? All, it is true, have not crossed it. Among those who have most nearly approached it, many have obstinately remained on the opposite bank, and not only those to whom one can attribute some personal fault, for there have been men of real piety, high virtue, and of great culture, as, for instance, Pusey, Keble, and Church, who, having followed their friend Newman to the very threshold of the Church, were not for a single moment tempted to follow him further. From the providential point of view, this fact is not easy to explain. The good faith of these men, the purity of their motives, the sincerity of their search for truth, do not admit of doubt. What, then, was wanting to induce them to take the final step? Why did God hold back from those meritorious souls the small measure of light and grace still needed, especially as their influence and example would have reassured the consciences of many left otherwise in the anxiety of supposed error? It would be presumption to attempt to unveil the mysteries of the distribution of grace: "the Spirit bloweth where it listeth." But one has only to imagine what would have resulted from Pusey's con-

¹ An English Protestant journal lately called the High Church "the half-way house to Rome."

version to realize how the face of things would have been changed. His conversion would certainly have led to many others, for nearly all the champions of the Oxford Movement would then have submitted to the Roman Church. As a consequence, this movement would have attained its object and reached its conclusion. In the Church of England none would have been left to bring about that astounding transformation which, under the influence of Pusey and his friends, has led her so near to Catholicism. Their secession would for ever have discredited in the eyes of the Anglican world the ideas that led to it. Is it to be admitted that the gradual adoption of Catholic ideas and practices by Anglicans has the double advantage of hastening individual conversions, and of preparing the groups more or less numerous, if not the whole body, to return to the true Church in some future time? Considered in this light, Pusey and those who remained faithful to him have served as instruments in the designs of Providence, and their resistance to the truth, however deplorable in some ways, has produced results which would not have followed from their immediate conversion.

Thus, from whatever side the Anglo-Catholic movement is considered, the action of God is manifest in it. As long ago as 1850, Newman declared that it was impossible to imagine that this movement did not form part of the Divine plan.¹ Manning in 1866 pointed out in it the influence and the impulse of a supernatural grace,² and quite recently the same argument was drawn out by an English Jesuit, who asks if this movement be not the work of God—not merely permitted, but positively willed,

¹ *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties.* ² *England and Christendom.*

by God—and after a long historical and theological examination of it answers, without any hesitation, in the affirmative.¹

It behoves Catholics, therefore, to regard the men of this movement with a friendly eye. Instead of scoffing at what they still lack, we ought to admire their perseverance in recovering, bit by bit, some of the truths that have been lost to their Church for three centuries. There is no reason for us to be surprised if they hesitate, or even if they appear to retreat. It is no easy task to remove the weight of secular prejudices in which the mind has developed for years without the least suspicion of the real truth, or to break bonds which have been strengthened by what appeared to be the noblest sentiments. Let it be remembered for how many years Newman and Manning struggled in anguish in the presence of the truth which, near though it was, they dared not embrace.² Let us not show either disdain or irritation towards those who are now held back from the same causes, but rather bestow upon them the sympathy and respect which are their due.³ We ought, moreover, to have confidence in the more or less remote issue of the crisis, believing that among these men is to be found much uprightness in the search after truth, as well as much prejudice; the former is lasting,

¹ Article by the Rev. P. Tyrrell in the *Month*, July, 1897.

² See Newman's immortal account of these tragic hesitations in his *Apologia*.

³ English Catholics appear to understand better now than formerly that justice and tact counsel this attitude. The language of their journals, in this respect, has been markedly modified. At a recent meeting of the Catholic Truth Society, the chief speakers, including the Bishop of Liverpool and two Jesuits, Father Lucas and Father Huson, declared openly that Catholics ought to show a "respectful sympathy" to the Ritualists in the present crisis through which they were passing. (See the *Tablet*, April 29, 1899.)

the latter transitory. But it is a matter of importance for Catholics to avoid giving any ground for these prejudices. To those which are directed against essential truths of the Catholic religion we can show no quarter, and it would be wrong to try to allay them by veiling or disguising our dogmas, but other prejudices concern theses and practices which, far from being essential to our faith, often disfigure it, and the responsibility of affording no pretext for these rests upon us. The importance of this is not sufficiently recognized. When Catholics exaggerate the scope of certain dogmas, when of their own private judgment they exalt erroneous or doubtful opinions into articles of faith, when they extol puerile devotions, when they display a ridiculous credulity, when they mask their ignorance with supposed orthodoxy, and presume to limit in its name the lawful liberty of criticism and science, when they set to work to undermine that spiritual virility and independence which are by no means incompatible with true Christianity, they may, for aught I know, flatter themselves that they are more perfect Catholics, but they have only to hear what is said, and read what is written, in the Anglican world, to realize the unfortunate effect of these imprudent acts, an effect to which we are apt to pay too little attention. Catholics ought, therefore, to practise discretion on these points. Together with prayer, this will be their way of helping on the conversion, if not of England, at least of that portion of the Anglican Church which is visibly approaching Catholicism. It would be rash to prophesy as to how soon this conversion will take place. On such subjects we must restrain our impatience, natural though it may be. We cannot expect the work of centuries to be undone in a few years. When or how the

end will be reached is unknown, but it seems certain that great things are in the way of accomplishment. The present violent outburst of hostile passions only confirms my conviction. God is working in England; He has deposited there a leaven that is active now in hearts and in institutions.

But although it would be folly to predict the future, we may reasonably study the events of the last three-quarters of a century out of which the future will grow. The starting-point is clearly defined—namely, the Oxford Movement of 1833—one of the most remarkable and extraordinary phenomena in the religious history of our times. Though it was in the beginning confined to the limits of a University, it spread within a short period throughout the whole country. This great movement gave rise to the transformation of Anglicanism, and to the re-awakening of Catholicism in England. The faithful of both creeds recall its memory with emotion, and all agree in revering its promoters, foremost among whom stands the pure and noble figure of Newman, whom Catholics at his death honoured as the “father of souls” and the “inspirer of conversions,” while the Anglicans, forgetful of his desertion, proclaimed him “the founder of the present Church of England.”

It is, therefore, the history of the Oxford Movement, in its heroic inception and with all its various and unlooked-for results, that will form the subject of this work. No complete history of the movement has hitherto appeared in France. We have up till now been content with a scanty knowledge of some of its more salient episodes, and nothing has been published which gave to French readers a comprehensive idea of the transformation which it

accomplished. It has been my object in this work to describe the whole course of the movement, at least in outline. I am not ignorant of the extent to which a foreigner is handicapped in the accomplishment of such a task, more especially when he deals with a state of mind so subtle and so peculiar as that of the English with regard to these matters.

In gathering the materials for my work I have been helped by men of widely different beliefs and opinions, in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, with a kindness and a candour which I wish here to acknowledge. Some of those who have given me information were actual partakers in the events described; some were merely observers. I have also been helped by the perusal of a great number of English books on the subject. No complete and definite history of the movement has yet appeared, but, according to English fashion, there have been numerous monographs and biographies containing an abundance of original documents and personal narratives. The fact of my being a foreigner has not constituted my sole difficulty. I have also been hampered in the discussion of questions touching upon theology by not being a theologian. In this respect my work is inevitably incomplete. I can only claim to have played the part of an historian, but at least of an historian whose aim it is to depict characters as well as to relate events, and to make live again one of those dramas of the religious consciousness in man which are assuredly not the least curious and heart-stirring part of history in general. I am not without hope that, even with the drawbacks of which I have spoken, my work may be of interest to French readers.

May, 1899.

PART I
THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE MOVEMENT

- I. English thought and the religious problem after Waterloo—How the Anglican Church failed to answer to the needs of the time—Decline of the Evangelical party—The Liberal school : Whately and Arnold. II. Remnants of the High Church party—John Keble and *The Christian Year* — Richard Hurrell Froude. III. Newman's earlier years—He is elected Fellow of Oriel—His relations with Whately and his "liberal" phase—He becomes a friend of Pusey—His ordination. IV. Newman is appointed Tutor at Oriel, and then Vicar at St. Mary's—The rise of his influence—The tender sides of his nature. V. Newman separates himself from "liberalism"—He becomes intimate with Froude, allows himself to be gained over by the ideas of the latter, and through him becomes friendly with Keble—Dissatisfaction of his "liberal" friends—Pusey's marriage—Newman and the Pusey household—Pusey's opinions at this period. VI. Newman's first public action on the occasion of Peel's candidature for Oxford—Effect in England of the French Revolution of 1830—The Established Church seems threatened—Newman and Froude feel that it can only be saved by a movement of counter-reform. VII. Tour of Froude and Newman in the south of Europe—Their impressions of Rome—Newman feels that he has a work to be done in England—His illness in Sicily—His return to England.

I

IN the years which followed Waterloo, English thought, released from the gigantic and perilous effort which had absorbed it during its struggle with Napoleon, found leisure to pay more attention to religious problems. At that time it appeared to be divided, on this subject,

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between two opposite tendencies. Some, reared amidst the traditions of the eighteenth century and of the French Revolution, or subject to the influence, feeble though it was as yet in Great Britain, of German philosophy and criticism, or, again, won over by the claims, already assertive, of a science which felt itself on the track of great discoveries, showed themselves aggressive or cynical towards revealed and supernatural religion. Others, matured as it were by the great crisis through which the world had just passed, and affected by the social problems which the advance of democracy and the development of industry had set before them, felt the need of a return to Christianity. A number of writers furthered this reaction, effecting in England a work similar to that of Chateaubriand in France, or of Görres in Germany. Such, with varying claims to this distinction, were Walter Scott,¹ Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey.

Was the Established Church of England capable of meeting this hostility and of satisfying this need? It was incumbent upon her to do so in order to justify her existence. But could she? No one at the time believed it possible. Doubtless, when seen from without, she had maintained her influence, and the Tories, with whom she had allied herself, had been in power since the beginning of the century. But Anglican historians unhesitatingly admit that, although her fabric was yet standing, her religious life scarcely survived. The bishops, chosen on political grounds, lived sumptuously, generally outside their dioceses, in which they rarely appeared save to pre-

¹ Newman and Pusey willingly insisted on the influence exercised in this direction by the ideas of Walter Scott. Witness notably a conversation of Pusey reported by Liddon (*Life of Pusey*, vol. i., p. 254).

side at occasional functions. They were out of touch with their clergy, and had no moral authority over their flocks. They were careful to vote in the House of Lords for the party which had appointed them, and showed themselves punctual at the King's Levee. Some of them, being distinguished scholars, would edit a tragedy of Sophocles or a speech of Demosthenes; not one had the slightest notion of giving spiritual direction or of performing an apostolic action. Under these bishops, the clergy, for the most part younger sons of good family, attracted to this career by worldly motives, and without a suspicion of a spiritual vocation, set themselves to obtain and even to accumulate rich livings. Many of them did not reside in their parishes, and appointed as a substitute some famished curate, such as George Eliot's Amos Barton. Some retained from their University days a taste for classical studies, but the greater number lived like the neighbouring squires, and became daring huntsmen and deep drinkers, even when they did not succumb to the vice of drunkenness then prevalent in England.¹ Only on Sundays, when they would celebrate divine service, were they mindful of being ministers of the Saviour, and they performed their task as they would have discharged any other function, without a notion that something more was required of them. The best of them set themselves to lead a life which was, to use two words in vogue in England, "respectable" and "comfortable."

¹ "Intoxication was the most frequent charge against the clergy" (*A Memoir of C. J. Blomfield, Bishop of London*, vol. i., p. 105). In a book entitled *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, Mr. Wakeman, speaking of the beginning of the century, writes: "It would not be difficult to find districts of England and Wales where drunkenness was very common among the clergy" (p. 459).

6 THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC REVIVAL

Their ideal for the nation and for the individual was prosperity in this world, thus proving themselves worthy citizens of that England which—to use Sydney Smith's expression—"hated poverty like sin." Thus, as one of the noblest minds of Anglicanism has written, "the Church of England had bartered religion for civilization."¹ She merely saw in Christianity something tranquil, decent, and cold, a kind of traditional formalism befitting a well-organized society, devoid of any supernatural element, unconscious of the unseen world, without piety or fervour, still less inclined to mysticism or asceticism. Enthusiasm in such matters appeared to her out of place, a little ridiculous, and, above all, suspect as savouring of Methodism and Romanism. The churches were closed except for a few hours on Sunday. The services lacked pomp, dignity, and often decency; and Mr. Gladstone has acknowledged that nowhere else was it so "degraded." There was no deep investigation with regard to the foundations and object of belief. Serious theological studies were unknown. Men were admitted to Holy Orders after a futile examination which only bore testimony to the bishops' indifference to doctrine. The orthodox creeds were scarcely discussed, for the reason that they were only recognized as having a conventional authority. In the main the Church seemed to be less the guardian of a sum of beliefs which commanded the assent of men's reason and conscience, than "an Establishment" closely bound up with the State, and having received from it large endowments and certain political privileges. The great thing was to maintain this bond and the advantages which resulted therefrom. The clergy were much more

¹ R. W. Church, *Occasional Papers*, vol. ii., p. 472.

anxious about this than about their beliefs or their independence, and provided they were secure on this point, were inclined to take other matters easily.

As I have already stated, an effort to revive the well-nigh extinct religious life had been made. It was the Evangelical movement, more or less inspired by Methodism. Wherever its influence had penetrated, it had, in fact, re-awakened individual piety, recalled to each soul the question of its salvation, imparted a greater seriousness to worship, and, above all, had given a great impetus to charitable and apostolical work. In the second or third decade of the nineteenth century, this party, known as "the religious party," or "the party of saints," was in some favour, and, although a minority of the Anglican clergy, held several high ecclesiastical posts. Yet though only some fifty or sixty years old, it was beginning to show signs of decline : its power for good was almost exhausted. The piety which it had helped to revive was degenerating into a formal and Pharisaic Puritanism. Its prayers, which, while novel, had appeared to be fervent, had become no more than a monotonous repetition, wearisome, and often vain. Its excessive indulgence in a sort of *cant* laid it open to the charge of hypocrisy. Its early austerity gave way, on more than one point, to a self-satisfied worldliness which liked to parade itself at tea-meetings, where it poured forth a flood of bigoted phraseology. Above all, the narrowness and inconsistency of its doctrinal foundation were daily more apparent, as were also the shallowness of its philosophy, its scorn of reason, and the *lacunæ* of its theology, which confined itself to a somewhat fatalist conception of individual conversion, exclusively rested on an arbitrary interpretation of a few

texts, and ignored the rest of Scripture. It held no sway over intellectual men, being unable either successfully to withstand modern criticism, or to give those devoutly inclined the guidance they needed. After having in its early stages reckoned amongst its adherents several generous spirits, it seemed in later days to be smitten with sterility. No intellectual leader sprang from its ranks, and if young men of mark were at first drawn towards it, in the hope of finding amidst the prevailing coldness a centre of Christian life, they soon turned away, disillusioned, to seek it elsewhere.

But they were then confronted with the question whither to turn. Where should they find that religious revival for which their souls were hoping? Was it to be found in the school called "liberal," which held sway about 1820 at Oriel, then the most celebrated of the Oxford Colleges? One of its leaders was Whately, at that time Fellow of this College, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin. A man of frank and original mind, a lively talker, an unquellable arguer, delighting to pass current opinions through the dialectical sieve, as contemptuous of High Churchmen as of Evangelicals, Whately set himself against what was superficial and conventional in the religion of the time, urged everyone to question his religious beliefs, and to decide about them by his own reason. He repudiated in this matter all external authority, whether of the Church or of tradition. In his writings the Fathers became nothing more than "certain ancient theologians," and he confessed that he felt inclined at first sight to sympathize with a heretic, because he saw in such an one a man who thought for himself. Not that he himself was tempted to leave his Church, but he claimed

for each the right to revise the creeds of that Church, and to set aside, as of secondary importance, such beliefs as offended his reason. With him the dogmatic part of religion was, to say the least, minimized; so much so that one could have applied to his method of treating Anglican doctrine the phrase of Tacitus: *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*. His ideas found favour in the Common Rooms of Oxford, and it is not the least proof of his influence that for several years he had Newman himself as his disciple.

Thomas Arnold, also a Fellow of Oriel, belonged to the same school as Whately, but possessed higher moral conceptions; he was Whately's superior not so much in knowledge and talent as in character. In 1827 he was appointed Head Master of Rugby School, which, with those of Eton, Harrow, and Winchester, prepared the youth of the wealthy classes for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In these schools manners were at that time brutal and depraved; religion was reduced to an empty and despised formalism. Arnold, who was then thirty-two years old and had just taken Orders, set the example of a great reform. He not merely devoted himself to re-establishing exterior discipline, but determined, by example and personal effort, to exert an influence over the minds of his pupils. He set before his boys an exalted ideal, appealed to their sense of honour, and made it his study to awaken in them a deep religious feeling as the rule of their actions and of their thoughts. The aim was a noble one, and, in spite of early suspicions and hindrances, he obtained significant results. Youths who had been under him retained his "stamp," and many amongst those who at Oxford and Cambridge were known as "Rugby men"

brought with them thither a more serious view of life, and prided themselves on being faithful to the motto which one of their number, A. H. Clough, the poet, had composed: "Simpler living, higher thinking." Unfortunately, if in Arnold's work moral action often effected good results, his doctrines contained the same germ of disintegration as those of Whately. He was passionately opposed to what he used to call sacramentalism and sacerdotalism, and hardly regarded any revealed dogmas as essential except the Incarnation and the Trinity, maintaining piety towards Christ sufficient for orthodoxy. His dream was to unite in the Established Church all the Protestant sects, and, without heeding their divergencies of belief—a matter of minor importance in his eyes—he looked to the State, the religious supremacy of which seemed to him a happy circumstance, to use its power in securing coalition, tolerance or mutual indifference.

Arnold and Whately thus initiated a school, or, more correctly, furthered a temper, which was to play no unimportant part in contemporary Anglicanism, and which subsequently became the "Broad Church," eventuating in such men as Dean Stanley and Professor Jowett remaining dignitaries of the Established Church at a time when it was doubtful whether they even believed in the divinity of Christ. Far from reacting against the old latitudinarianism of the eighteenth century, these "liberals" were striving to revive it, and, instead of strengthening religion, were opening the door to free thought.¹

¹ One may quote, as an illustration of this truth, the history of one of the most gifted of Whately's friends, and, in a certain degree, his

II

At this point we may inquire how much was left at the beginning of last century of the school which, in opposition to Latitudinarianism, had sought to retain in the Anglican Church the greatest possible amount of Catholic dogma and organization, and how much of the tradition lasted which dated from Andrews and Laud, and had been carried on by the Caroline divines and the Non-jurors. Many clergymen, no doubt, prided themselves on belonging to the High Church party; but with them the name denoted something political rather than religious. It was a form of Toryism. Staunch in their resolution to defend the Church's privileges and revenues against the threats of reform which were more or less in the air, they troubled themselves little about doctrines, and would have been much embarrassed in stating their own. Dry, haughty, seldom accessible to the lower and poorer classes, repressing all religious emotion, and disliking both Methodist enthusiasm and Evangelical unction, they had little popularity, and went by the name of "High and Dry." One would have had great difficulty in finding a few families here and there in which the doctrines of the Non-jurors¹ had been handed down from generation to

inspirer, the Rev. Blanco White. A native of Spain, where he had been a Catholic priest, Blanco White had come to England, had been well received, and had become an Anglican clergyman. At Oxford he was greatly liked for his wit, and he wielded a real influence on the liberal school of Oriel. He was at that time in close intimacy with Newman. But soon it was seen, by the very logic of his principles, that he was giving up his beliefs one after another, at first professing Socinianism, and then repudiating the whole Christian faith.

¹ It will be remembered that Newman, in one of his letters (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 435), mentions a Mr. Fortescue

generation in some mysterious way. Occasionally some signs of it appeared, more or less attenuated, in the teaching of certain theologians, but its scope was limited.

It was not a theological book which contributed most effectively to bring Anglicans back to these religious ideas which had been so forgotten—it was a volume of verse. Its author was a village clergyman. Born in 1792 of a clerical family in which the traditions of the Non-jurors were piously kept, John Keble, while still young, had won a great reputation at Oxford. When a Fellow of Oriel with Whately and Arnold, a distinguished University career seemed open before him; but, as though dreading the temptation of intellectual vanities, it was noticed that he soon fell into the background, and retired to the obscurity of a country vicarage. With the piety which kept him in the constant presence of God, with asceticism and the Friday fast, he had the frankness of a child, enjoyed everything good and beautiful, tenderly loved his relatives, and entered keenly into their joys and sorrows. Pusey has said of him, “He had a moral greatness which I have not known in anyone else.” He had remained faithful to the ideas of his early education, which were very High Church, though not at all “dry.” Still, if he was distressed to see these ideas unrecognized, he did not dream of inaugurating a campaign to propagate them; he con-

who belonged to a Non-juring family, and was brought up secretly in the ideas and practices of that school—for instance, he was taught to go to Confession. Another convert, Mr. Kegan Paul, tells us that as a boy he had known at Bath people who retained the High Church principles of Queen Anne’s time; in particular, they practised mortifications in Lent. One old doctor, he says, gave up snuff during that season, and that was the only time in the year when the children could go near him without sneezing (see *Confessio Viatoris*, in the *Month* for August, 1891).

fined himself to the duties of his ministry, and, outside the University which remembered his classical successes, he lived unknown to the public. Since 1819 he had formed the habit of pouring out his overflowing thoughts in composing short hymns; they were a kind of incense which he loved to send up towards heaven. Little by little his collection expanded, until at last he found he had written sacred songs for each Sunday and festival, as well as for the chief acts of the Christian life. He never dreamt of giving them to the public; this for him would have been to betray a secret which should remain hidden between his soul and God. However, some of his friends, acquainted with the poems, could not bear to see them hidden under a bushel, and impressed upon Keble that it was his duty to publish them. He held out against them, but at last yielded to the entreaties of his old father, who asked to see the book published before his death, and accordingly *The Christian Year* appeared anonymously.

Contrary to the author's expectation, its success was immediate and very great, and the collection was soon in everybody's hands. Every reader was enchanted and delighted with this fresh and original note, which contrasted so agreeably with the cold and empty formalism of the religious literature of the day. At the music of these verses emotions, long since dormant, awakened in men's souls. Not merely literary people appreciated the delicate and fresh inspiration of a born poet, and the ability of a scholar steeped in ancient and modern poetry: the less educated were also stirred. Besides being a work of art, these hymns are the expression of personal feelings of the utmost sincerity and depth. One finds in them an exquisite purity of heart, a brooding and tender piety,

love and the fear of God, and sorrow for sin. Christ is no longer a mere abstraction, but a living Friend. Nature lives in them, as one would expect from a contemporary and admirer of Wordsworth; but she is the radiant veil behind which the Creator speaks to the soul, and on each page there are, as it were, beatings of wings to lift us by means of all visible things towards infinite beauty.

Without being in any way didactic and dogmatic, these hymns none the less furthered High Church ideas more effectively than many sermons and controversies. Inspired by the author's doctrines with regard to the dignity and authority of the Church, the seriousness of matters of belief, the mysteries of Faith, the sanctity of worship, the grace of the Sacraments, and the Communion of Saints, they awakened a piety which implied these doctrines or led up to them; they created, almost without their readers suspecting it, and, as a consequence, without rousing their distrust, a state of mind which paved the way for a return to a less incomplete and more living Christianity. The sadness with which the state of religion was often deplored in the hymns tended to make people feel the necessity of such a transformation, and throughout one caught glimpses of the ideal, too long forgotten, to which the poet so ardently desired to see his Church return.

In the unexpected success of his book, John Keble saw no reason for casting aside his reserve and making himself the leader of a religious development. He believed no more than formerly that he was called to take a leading position or that he was fitted to occupy one. But though he did not seek to influence the public mind, his authority increased over those who came into contact

with him, more especially over some young men who loved to call themselves his disciples. "Amongst us," one of them has said, "the name of Keble cut short every argument, so instinctively did we recognize his authority," an authority full of gracious tenderness, which was founded, above all, upon the attraction of his character. The most beloved of these disciples was Richard Hurrell Froude. The son of an Archdeacon, he was born in 1803, and brought up in High Church traditions; he had from 1821 been a pupil of Keble at Oxford, and had followed him in 1823 to his country parsonage, in order to read, under his direction, for University examinations. Though still young, he possessed in the eyes of his comrades a singular attraction: his refined bearing and winning manners; his slim figure; his keen, frank, and intrepid glance, and that charm which an entire purity of heart lends to the beauty of youth; his courageous, generous, impetuous nature, prompt to show its enthusiasm for all that was noble, to detest and scorn what seemed to him low and false; his bold, incisive, and original mind, his enjoyment of all branches of sport—all contributed to that attraction. Besides these, he had other and still more valuable qualities, which were only entirely revealed after his death by the publication of his private diary¹—viz., a mind which anxiously sought after holiness and was constantly employed in a pitilessly severe self-examination before God, in humiliating itself for its sins, and in expiating them by penance, fighting against them by mortification, and, in short, practising an asceticism that was quite unknown to the Anglicanism of the period. The truth was that

¹ *Remains of the late R. H. Froude*, published in 1838 and 1839 by Newman and Keble.

Froude lacked guidance, and consequently a sense of proportion, in this asceticism; and hence only too often, instead of the peace and light to which he aspired and which his goodwill seemed to deserve, he fell into a state of trouble, of languor and melancholy comparable with Pascal's or even Hamlet's.¹

Though of so undisciplined a nature, Froude had submitted with a filial deference to the tutorship of Keble, whom he loved and revered. He accepted his ideas on the Church and religion with all the more readiness from the fact that they agreed with the traditions in which he had been brought up. He was a devoted disciple, but of a peculiar type, and he reacted upon his master still more than he had himself been influenced by him. By the vigour and fearlessness of his disposition he urged him to be precise, to carry his principles to a more Catholic conclusion; and, above all, his impetuosity refused to shut itself up in the contemplative reserve of the poet of *The Christian Year*; he claimed the right of drawing logical inferences from his premises.

After his election as a Fellow of Oriel in 1826, he left Keble's parsonage and settled down at Oxford, there to propagate amongst the young men of the University his master's ideas, or rather those ideas after passing through his own mind and being warmed in the controversies that afforded him so much pleasure. Far from being afraid of frightening those with whom he discussed, he did not scruple at making them uneasy, willingly giving to his propositions an extreme and provoking turn; and in boldly adopting unpopular views he was equally careful not

¹ These comparisons are those of Dean Church (*The Oxford Movement*, pp. 55, 56. Cf. also *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 315).

to display either temper or fear.¹ But along with all this there was so much good-humour, so much sincerity and such a generous way of expressing himself, such an unmistakable love for souls, such a search for what was good, that his hearers were usually attracted rather than driven away. Long afterwards, those who had at that time come into contact with him retained the memory of the powerful fascination which he imparted.

No one, then, was better calculated to set minds in a ferment. But he had not in the same degree the necessary qualification for guiding them. He was a powerful agitator, but not a leader. A leader, however, he at least helped to discover and to win over to his own ideas. This was a tutor of Oriel, one who already possessed a certain reputation when Froude was elected to a Fellowship. He was two years his senior, and his name was John Henry Newman.

III

Nothing in Newman's past history seemed to have prepared him to hold the same views as Froude. He was born in 1801, and was the son of a London banker.² He had received from his mother, who was a descendant of the French Huguenots, a religious education strongly tinged with Calvinism. About his fifteenth year, these early impressions had been confirmed by a spiritual crisis, when he believed that he had a feeling of his "conversion" and of his predestination to eternal glory, and afterwards by the reading of theologians of the Evangelical school. Full of prejudices against Catholicism, he firmly believed

¹ Froude used to say: "If I do not express myself as strongly as this, I shall be a coward."

² Mr. Newman's bank failed in the crisis of 1815.

that the Pope was the Antichrist foretold by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. So great was his Protestant zeal that he had as a schoolboy erased in his *Gradus ad Parnassum* the epithets which accompanied the word "Pope," such as *Vicarius Christi*, *sacer interpres*, and had replaced them by depreciatory titles. And yet, by a mysterious contradiction, at about the same time, a thought singularly discordant with his Protestantism began to take possession of him—namely, that God wished him to lead a celibate life.¹

A precocious scholar, he was not yet sixteen years old when, in December, 1816, he was admitted to Trinity College, Oxford. There he showed himself to be a hard worker, often to the detriment of his health, which was delicate, and he took but little part in the sports in vogue.² He was an omnivorous reader, fond of knowledge of every kind, and studied history as well as dipped into Oriental languages, though his preferences were for poetry and mathematics. His dress was simple, at times even some-

¹ A very Protestant and unfriendly biographer of Newman, Dr. Abbott, sees in this vocation to celibacy one of the causes of his "perversion." "Bacon," he adds, "calls a wife and children a discipline of humanity; but for some they are also a discipline of theology. Certainly, when the time arrived for Keble to decide whether he and Newman should secede to Rome together or part company for ever, the letters reveal that marriage had no slight effect in severing the two friends" (*The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman*, vol. i., p. 20).

² Later on, however, in order to recover his health, which had suffered, Newman indulged for a short time in several forms of physical exercise. Thus at the age of twenty-seven, when he was beginning to become a man of note, he learned to jump. In a letter dated April 1, 1828, he writes: "I take most vigorous exercise, which does me much good. I have learned to leap (to a certain point), which is a larking thing for a don. The exhilaration of going quickly through the air is for my spirits very good" (*Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. i., p. 182).

what careless. His tastes were austere, and certain coarser sides of student life—among others the drinking-parties then very common at the University—disgusted him.¹ He was very fond of music, and one of his favourite diversions was to play the violin. He had but few friends, lived pretty much alone, and was of a timid, reserved, and uncommunicative nature. From this early time of his life he led an inner existence of intense earnestness, took pleasure in reflecting on invisible things, and sought with a zeal that was not free from anguish to do what was right and to gain a knowledge of the truth. He suffered from perplexities which at times beset him, and passed through crises of depression and discouragement. His mother was uneasy on his account: "Your fault," she writes to him, "is a want of self-confidence and a dissatisfaction with yourself." In regard to his vocation in life his hesitation was short-lived. When he was twenty-eight some stirrings of worldly ambition moved him for the moment;² but they were short-lived, and he decided upon a clerical career.

In spite of a brilliant start at the University, Newman failed in his final examination for honours. Far from being discouraged by this, he at once resolved to become a candidate for the position, then most coveted in Oxford, of Fellow of Oriel College.³ He had only four months to prepare for the ordeal, which was to take place in April, 1822. The anxiety and ardour with which he set to work surprised him and led to his self-reproach. He called to mind how, a year before, he desired especially

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 36, 38.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 42.

³ Mark Pattison has written in his *Memoirs*, p. 103, in alluding to a period only a few years later: "We all thought a Fellow of Oriel a person of miraculous intellect, only because he was one."

to turn aside from every event which would have brought him any honour, and then added: "Alas, how I am changed! I am perpetually praying to get into Oriel, and to obtain the prize for my essay. O Lord! dispose of me as will best promote Thy glory, but give me resignation and contentment."¹ He was successful. The examiners, anxious to break away from the formal routine of examinations, understood that if Newman was not so good a classical scholar as some of his opponents, he was yet fundamentally their superior. When the news of his success reached him, he was playing the violin in his rooms; he immediately threw down his fiddle, rushed downstairs four steps at a time, and ran to Oriel, where he received the hearty congratulations of men already famous, whose colleague he had now become. He was quite astonished to hear them familiarly call him Newman, and to be invited to treat them similarly.

This success, far from overcoming Newman's diffidence, only increased the awkwardness he felt in meeting the advances made to him by others. His embarrassment, his silences, broken only by jerky utterances, offered such a contrast with the brilliant conversation of the Common Room, that the other Fellows asked themselves whether they had not made a mistake in electing him. It occurred to them to introduce him to Whately, who had just resigned his Fellowship to be married, in the hope that possibly Whately's vivacity and animation would overcome what seemed to be the inertia and stiffness of the new Fellow. The plan succeeded. Whately was one of those talkers with so much to say that it is enough for them merely to be listened to. And then, although he was fifteen years

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 60.

older than Newman, he knew how to put him at his ease by the freedom of his manners, and to rouse him by the originality of his ideas and the striking form in which he clothed them. In this way he led him by degrees to throw aside his reserve, and to reveal his worth. Before long he declared that Newman was "the clearest-headed man he knew," sought his company for walks, and had recourse to his assistance in all the works upon which he was engaged. On his side, Newman was deeply grateful to the man who had helped him out of a false position. He was pleased with his cordiality and enjoyed his wit, although at the time he was startled by some of his ideas and by the vehemence with which he upheld them, comparing him, in this respect, with "a bright June sun tempered by a March north-easter." Writing some years afterwards to Whately, he says: "To none, as I think, do I owe so much as to you. I know who it was that first gave me heart to look about me after my election." And later on, when divergence of view brought about a complete rupture and caused more than one rebuff on Whately's part, Newman still did not hesitate thus to express his gratitude: "I owe him a great deal. . . . While I was still awkward and timid in 1822, he took me by the hand, and acted towards me the part of a gentle and encouraging instructor. He, emphatically, opened my mind, and taught me to think and use my reason."¹

Whately was soon in a position to reassure his friends at Oriel about their choice. They were also able to judge for themselves and highly value their new colleague. This was the case with, amongst others, Dr. Hawkins,

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 104-109; and *Apologia*, chap. i.

with whom at that time Newman was on particularly intimate terms. A man of precise and very independent mind, accustomed to the free and daring speculations in vogue at Oriel, but upright, honest, and tolerant, he was freer from worldly allurements than is often the case with men of great intellectual renown.

A man of Newman's age, as yet without fixed convictions, could not live long among such men and breathe the Oriel Common Room atmosphere without being influenced. From the first he learnt from his new masters "to think for himself, to see with his own eyes, and to rely upon himself." He loved to give them the credit of this in later years, when he had made use of that independence to separate himself from them.¹ The influence was deeper than this. His Evangelicalism did not long survive the severe criticism of Oriel. But how was it to be replaced? It might have been expected, at first, that his docility to Whately would have caused him to adopt the latter's Latitudinarianism, and one can, at this period, detect a "liberal" phase in the gradual formation of his character. "The truth is," he wrote, when recalling his reminiscences of this time, "I was drifting in the direction of liberalism."² In certain respects, however, he

¹ *Apologia*, and *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 141.

² *Apologia*. It may be explained once for all that this word "liberalism" had in Newman's mouth a special meaning; it signified anti-dogmatic rationalism, and, as he has defined it, "the error by which are submitted to human judgment those revealed doctrines which by their nature surpass it and are independent of it." Newman took pains to make it clear that he did not thus separate himself from certain Catholics whose friend he prided himself on being, notably Montalembert and Lacordaire, who called themselves "liberal," using the word in quite another sense. (*Vide* the Appendix added by Newman to the translation which appeared in France of his *Apologia*, under the title, *Histoire de mes Opinions Religieuses*.)

resisted it. Convinced that dogma was the primary and necessary foundation of religion, he mistrusted a doctrine which weakened it.¹ The nascent devotion to, and initiatory study of, the ancient Fathers² proved a safeguard. With their somewhat capricious independence of spirit the Oriel men sometimes mingled with their liberal arguments others of a Catholic tendency, and it was these to which Newman was specially drawn, and which he retained the more easily. Thus he has told us how he had learnt from Hawkins that it was impossible to find all religious truth in the Bible only, and of the necessary recourse to tradition; from William James, another well-known figure at Oriel, the then much-forgotten doctrine of Apostolical Succession; lastly, from Whately himself, the notion, entirely foreign to Anglican Erastianism, of a Church instituted by God, forming a visible body, independent of the State, and having its own rights and powers. Amongst the "liberal" friends of the young Fellow, there was one who detected his more or less unconscious attraction to Catholic truths. Blanco White, who saw a good deal of him at this period, when they met for duets on the violin, which were frequently interrupted by theological discussions, often exclaimed, on hearing his arguments, "Ah, Newman, if you follow that clue, it will draw you into Catholic error!"³ About the same time, when busy settling his younger brother,

¹ Newman wrote in his *Apologia*: "Even when I was under Dr. Whately's influence, I had no temptation to be less zealous for the great dogmas of the Faith, and at various times I used to resist such trains of thought on his part as seemed to me (rightly or wrongly) to obscure them."

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 127.

³ Abbott, *The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman*, vol. i., p. 30.

Francis, at Oxford, Newman placed in his rooms an engraving of the Blessed Virgin, and when his brother objected, he replied by a vigorous denunciation of those Protestants who forgot the inspired words, "Blessed art thou among women."¹

The teaching which Newman was then receiving was not otherwise exclusively "liberal." From 1822 to 1824 he attended the private lectures which a Regius Professor of Theology, Dr. Lloyd, was holding for some candidates for ordination. Lloyd, who became Bishop of Oxford in 1827, was one of the few holders of the old High Church doctrines. On certain points he sought to bring back his pupils to more Catholic views; for, while still a young man, his intercourse with some French priests in England had freed him from several Protestant prejudices. It would be difficult to say precisely to what extent Newman was influenced by a master whom he respected, but who, in his eyes, was far from possessing the intellectual authority of Whately. Others who attended the lectures were, for the most part, of the same school as Lloyd. Hurrell Froude was one of their number. How was it that Newman, whose early education had been so different, became associated with them? Lloyd used to call him jokingly "the perverse Evangelical," and, when asking him a question, he would pretend to stop his ears, as if afraid of hearing some heretical answer. This did not, it is true, prevent him from becoming interested in a pupil of whom he was rather suspicious, from doing justice to his merits, or from speaking favourably of him and helping him to cultivate self-confidence. Newman was grateful to him for it. Later, on Lloyd's death, he recalled these memories

¹ The incident has been narrated by Francis Newman.

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

with emotion: "I wish," he wrote, "he had ever been aware how much I felt his kindness."

Amongst those who attended Dr. Lloyd's lectures the only one with whom Newman at that time appeared to be on intimate terms was a man who is to occupy an important place in this history—Edward Bouverie Pusey. Though a year older than Newman, he had been made a Fellow of Oriel a year later. He belonged to a family of good position; his father was an inflexible Tory, who held Whigs and Atheists in equal abhorrence, and hardly saw any difference between them. From his mother, a woman of faith and piety, he inherited his religious convictions and habits, amongst others a deep devotion to the Prayer-Book, and a belief, rare in those days, in the Real Presence. He was a conscientious student, though more industrious than brilliant, whose modesty prevented his imagining that he would ever rise to eminence. He had, however, attained considerable success in his studies, which were rewarded by his election to Oriel. When he went there he had not really identified himself with any religious party or any school of theology, although, owing to his mother's influence, he was somewhat inclined towards High Church principles. His distinguishing characteristics were a serious and gentle piety, a constant preoccupation with religion, a great zeal for souls, much austerity, deep purity of heart, and an indefinable candour and artlessness. Thus the two men were drawn together. Newman had hardly caught a glimpse of Pusey in the Oriel Common Room before he recognized in him a man of God, a stranger to the world; but, being at that time an Evangelical tainted with liberalism, he was uneasy about Pusey's ideas, and asked himself if he could hope to see him come "into the



true Church." The more he saw of him, the more his sympathy and esteem grew. After the conversations which he had with him in the course of several walks, and which invariably centred upon religious topics, he wished there might be an end to their differences in religious opinions, and he writes in his diary: "That Pusey is Thine, O Lord, how can I doubt? . . . all testify to the operation of the Holy Ghost; yet I fear he is prejudiced against Thy children. Let me never be eager to convert him to a *party* or to a form of *opinion*. Lead us both in the way of Thy commandments. What am I that I should be so blessed in my near associates?" And a little later, after a fresh conversation and confidences which he does not reveal to us, he adds: "Oh, what words shall I use? My heart is full. How should I be humbled to the dust! What importance I think myself of! My deeds, my abilities, my writings! Whereas he is humility itself, and gentleness, and love, and zeal, and self-devotion. Bless him with Thy fullest gifts, and grant me to imitate him."¹

This pious intimacy had scarcely begun when Pusey's departure for Germany interrupted it. Acting on Lloyd's advice, he had decided to go and study German Biblical criticism on the spot, for at that time it threatened, as he foresaw, to invade England. On two occasions, first in 1825 and again in 1826 and 1827, he made somewhat lengthy stays at Göttingen. Newman keenly regretted the separation from his friend: "He went away," he wrote later, "just when I was learning to know him well."²

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 117, 118.

² *Apologia*.

In consequence of these sojourns in Germany, Pusey was led to postpone his ordination, to which he had been looking forward from his childhood. Newman had not the same reasons for waiting. He received Orders in 1824, with feelings of great piety and with a lofty idea of the ministry that lay before him. An hour after being ordained deacon, he wrote: "It is over; at first, after the hands were laid on me, my heart shuddered within me; the words 'for ever' are so terrible." And the next day he says: "'For ever!' words never to be recalled. I have the responsibility of souls on me to the day of my death." He felt that it involved a complete renunciation of all worldly ambition, and his dream was to end his life as a missionary in some distant land. He craved not for interior consolation. "*Holiness* is the great end. There must be a struggle and a toil here. Comfort is a cordial, but no one drinks cordials from morning to night." More than ever he was haunted by his idea of celibacy, and when returning from his father's funeral on October 6, 1824, he wrote in his diary: "When I die, shall I be followed to the grave by my children? My mother said the other day that she hoped to live to see me married; but I think I shall either die within college walls,¹ or as a missionary in a foreign land. No matter where, so that I die in Christ."²

Immediately after his ordination, Newman was appointed curate of St. Clement's, one of the Oxford parishes, and devoted himself zealously to his pastoral duties. In the following year, 1825, Whately was

¹ At that time Fellowships could only be held by celibates. This was a remnant of Catholic discipline.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 91.

appointed Principal of Alban Hall, and chose him for Vice-Principal. Thus by degrees he emerged from his obscurity. A further and a more important step was his nomination, in 1826, to be one of the four tutors of Oriel, a position which gave him the intellectual, and to a certain extent the moral, direction of the undergraduates.

IV

The year 1826 was a notable date in the formation of Newman's character. His position and his manner of life underwent a change which he has thus noted: "During the first years of my residence at Oriel, though proud of my College, I was not at home there. I was very much alone, and I used often to take my daily walk by myself. . . . But things changed in 1826. At that time I became one of the Tutors of my College, and this gave me position; besides, I had written one or two essays which had been well received. I began to be known. . . . It was to me like the feeling of spring weather after winter; and, if I may so speak, I came out of my shell. . . . From this time my tongue was, as it were, loosened, and I spoke spontaneously, and without effort. . . . It was at this time that I began to have influence."¹ And yet, to see this young clergyman in the streets of Oxford, walking with simple gait, clad in a long-tailed coat, often well worn, his body bent forward, slender, pale, with large brilliant eyes, of a rather frail and delicate air, moving generally at a rapid pace, absorbed in meditation or in conversation with some companion, a stranger would not have guessed the importance which

¹ *Apologia*.

he was destined to acquire; he would, moreover, have doubted whether such a man was equipped for a strenuous battle, or had enough strength to bear heavy responsibilities. And what did he himself think of his future? When he used to question himself on this point with his usual sincerity he did not know what to answer. It is true indeed that the thought entered his mind, in view of the heavy responsibilities which success imposes, to wish never to have more than "some small cure of a few hundreds a year, and no preferment as the world calls it"; though he added immediately, "But you know this is wishing for idleness, and I do not think I shall have this obscurity, because I wish for it. . . . How long should I endure it were I given it? I do not know myself."¹ And on another occasion: "One thing I have earnestly desired for years, and I trust in sincerity—that I may never be rich; and I will add (though here I am more sincere at some times than at others) that I never may rise in the Church. The most useful men have not been the most highly exalted."² There was evidently in this soul, which was always singularly complex, a struggle between the very human desire to use the rare gifts which he was conscious of and the repugnance with which the dangers of a high position in life inspired his delicate and sensitive nature; there was, above all, a struggle between a very real Christian humility and a kind of mysterious feeling that it was his vocation to wield an influence upon the religious life of his country.

Newman took a highly serious view of his duties as tutor. The very fame of Oriel College had attracted elements more worldly than industrious. Its studies and

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, p. 231.

discipline suffered accordingly, and Newman set to work to restore them. His anxiety did not stop there, for he felt that he was in charge of souls. "May I be able to remember that I am a minister of Christ, that I have a mission to preach the Gospel; may I not forget the value of souls, and that I shall have to answer for all the opportunities which shall have been given me of doing good to those who are under my charge."¹ He had not been at work a month when he wrote in his diary: "There is much in the system which I think wrong; I think the tutors see too little of the men, and there is not enough of direct religious instruction. It is my wish to consider myself as the minister of Christ. Unless I find that opportunities occur of doing spiritual good to those over whom I am placed, it will become a grave question whether I ought to continue in the tuition."²

In 1828 a still larger sphere presented itself to Newman's apostolic zeal. While continuing his duties as tutor of Oriel, he was appointed to the important vicarage of St. Mary's, the University church. He took possession of that pulpit which was to be his for fifteen years, and began those unusual and penetrating sermons which have awoken the slumbering conscience of England.

Newman's fame, without yet extending beyond Oxford, was spreading in the University where he became a power. In a copy of verses written at this time, in which, following the custom of his whole life, the poet in him delighted to pour out his deepest feelings, he included in the number of blessings for which he thanked the Lord "Blessings of friends, which to my door *unasked, un hoped*, have

¹ *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 150, 151.

come.”¹ Amongst the number of his pupils of that time were two who ever remained warmly attached to him—Frederick Rogers, who later became Lord Blachford, and Henry Wilberforce, the youngest son of the celebrated philanthropist, a man of ardent, impetuous nature, who, as his brother Samuel expressed it, was devoted to Newman with “a kind of idolatrous veneration.” Such again, in a lesser degree, was young Gladstone, who, in 1826, had entered Christ Church. Newman captivated these young men with his friendly intimacy and affectionate solicitude, taking an interest in their studies, and directing them in their moral life. “Your kindness to me,” wrote Henry Wilberforce to him in 1827, “has indeed, I can say without affectation, been to me that of an elder brother.”² Newman’s heart was peculiarly warm and tender, in spite of the fact that on first acquaintance he seemed somewhat reserved. His mother, in days of trial, was in the habit of leaning confidently upon “her dear John Henry.” “He is, as usual,” she wrote in 1827, “my guardian angel.”³ In January, 1828, a sudden death carried off his beloved sister Mary, whose image ever lingered in his sorrowing heart. Some months afterwards, in May, when describing, in a letter to another of his sisters, a walk in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and how he had enjoyed “the beauty of the country, the fresh leaves, the scents, the varied landscapes,” he adds, “yet I never felt so intensely the transitory nature of this world as when most delighted with these country scenes.” And

¹ *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 166.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 170. Mrs. Newman was not destined to follow her son in the Movement. After he had lost her in 1836, Newman let it be seen in a letter to his sister how much he had suffered from this moral separation.

after quoting two verses of Keble, he added, "I wish it were possible for words to put down those indefinite, vague, and withal subtle feelings which quite pierce the soul and make it sick. Dear Mary seems embodied in every tree and hid behind every hill. What a veil and curtain this world of sense is! Beautiful, but still a veil!"¹ A little later on, in August, as he was arranging the letters he had received during the past two years, he recognized in one of them his sister's handwriting: "It so discomposed my head," he wrote, "that I have been obliged to lock them all up again, and turn my thoughts another way. I ought not to be talking of it now, but who can refrain?"² Lastly, in a letter dated November 11, he writes: "My ride of a morning is generally solitary; but I almost prefer being alone. When the spirits are good, everything is delightful in the view of still nature which the country gives. I have learned to like dying trees and black meadows—swamps have their grace, and fogs their sweetness. A solemn voice seems to chant from everything. I know whose voice it is—her dear voice. Her form is almost nightly before me, when I have put out the light and lain down. Is not this a blessing?"³ Thus it is that in following Newman in his hours of expansiveness, when his rather proud and sensitive shyness does not make him shut himself up from a vulgar or malevolent curiosity, we perceive in him a loving and poetically melancholy disposition, unknown to many of those who have only encountered the practised controversialist, the subtle theologian, or the austere preacher.

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 161.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 184.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 197.

V

Great as was the change that had been brought about, from 1826, in Newman's position and mode of life, more remarkable still was that of his religious views. After wavering between Evangelicalism and Latitudinarianism, he adopted another phase, in which he continued to progress. According to his own account, he began to "move out of the shadow of liberalism" about the year 1826 or 1827, and he realized the consequences to which Whately's doctrines, at first sight so seductive, were leading him, and saw, to his consternation, that he was "beginning to prefer intellectual excellence to moral."¹ His sister's death and the reflections for which he had leisure in illness furthered this deep-seated reaction. He would indeed have been perplexed to decide whither the road on which he had set out would lead him. Even at this time a secret instinct, as it were, which lasted right up to his conversion, gave him the impression that "his mind had not found its final rest," and that he was *en voyage*. In a note written at this period, which he found again later on, he spoke of himself as "being for the present at Oriel College, advancing slowly and led like a blind man by the Hand of God, not knowing where He is leading him."²

Among the events which contributed most to this change in Newman's ideas must be reckoned his relations with Hurrell Froude, whose portrait I have already sketched. A Fellow of Oriel from 1826, Froude had been placed during his year of probation under Newman's care. From what they knew of one another arose a tendency to mutual distrust. Newman looked upon Froude as a red-hot High

¹ *Apologia*, chap. i.

² *Ibid.*

Churchman; in Froude's eyes, Newman was an Evangelical more or less tainted with "liberalism," and hence doubly suspect. And yet, with this distrust was mingled, from the first, on both sides, a strong personal attraction. It was not due only to the very high opinion which Newman immediately formed of the intellectual gifts of the new Fellow, whom he declared to be one of the "acutest and clearest and deepest men" he had known,¹ or to the grateful esteem which Froude, on his part, felt for the talent, the kindness, and the mental elevation of his tutor. In the midst of these worldly surroundings the two young men perceived in each other the same deep religious feeling, the same need of a more serious, a more efficacious Christianity, the same distaste for superficial and conventional formalism, the same thirst for truth, the same tender and generous love for souls, the same spirit of self-denial and mortification, the same ideal of sanctity. Opportunities of drawing nearer to one another followed in due course, and they came to understand each other better. In 1828 Froude was appointed tutor in his turn, as well as another of Keble's pupils, Robert Wilberforce, the elder brother of Henry. The new tutors entered at once into Newman's conception of the responsibility of their office, and set to work to support him. About the same time Newman started a Dinner Club, which was joined by certain members of various Colleges who were eager to meet for interchange of ideas. Froude and Robert Wilberforce were among the first members.² "Newman," Froude wrote in 1828, "is a fellow that I like more the

¹ Letter dated March 31, 1826 (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 131).

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 184.

more I think of him; only I would give a few odd pence if he were not a heretic."¹ Accordingly, he spared no effort to lead him back to the doctrines he thought orthodox. Froude, in the course of long conversations, used to develop the necessity of a Church independent of the State, possessing a strong hierarchy and a sacerdotal power. He threw scorn upon the pretension of founding religion upon the Bible only, and appealed from it to tradition. He affirmed his faith in the Real Presence, maintained the excellence of virginity, of which the Mother of God appeared to him the great Pattern. He extolled penance, fasting, and devotion to the Saints. He loved to call to mind the miracles of the primitive Church, and especially those of the Middle Ages, for which he felt a particular attraction. He proclaimed the duty of the Anglican Church being in communion with the Universal Church, and reproached it for having on many points turned aside from antiquity; and he did not hesitate to express his admiration for the Church of Rome and his hatred of the Reformers. Displayed in a lively and original form, and with a deep sincerity, these ideas impressed and interested Newman. They cleared, on more than one point, the doubts that were exercising his mind. He already held some of these views in a modified degree, whilst startled by others, specially those about the Church of Rome, which Church he could scarcely forbear regarding as Antichrist. However, day by day his mind allowed itself to incline more towards the views of his new friend; he found in them a light and a consolation which he had vainly sought elsewhere. Acting on his advice, he set himself to study the Anglican theologians of the seven-

¹ Froude's *Remains*.

teenth century—Andrews, Laud, and the Caroline Divines. And, what was to influence him still more, he felt his early devotion for the ancient Fathers revive, and undertook to read them in chronological order during his vacations, beginning with St. Ignatius and St. Justin. Thus was traced the course which, in 1829, three years after the beginning of their relations, led to the completion of their intimacy and full agreement, and, in the direction in which they were both advancing, Froude led the way.¹ The effects of Froude's influence became apparent in Newman's preaching, and his sister found that his sermons were becoming a little "too High Church" for her taste.² Later on, after Froude's premature death, Newman, in language in which friendship and modesty caused him even to over-depreciate his own work, bore loving witness to his gratitude towards one who had so quickly taken such a place in his heart and wielded such an influence over his mind. He asserted that he was the most marvellously "gifted" man he had known, and declared that he could not describe what he owed to him "as regards the intellectual principles (*i.e.*, philosophy) of religion and morals."³

¹ Towards the end of 1829, Newman, requiring someone to help him in his parish, sought the assistance of Robert Wilberforce, then of Froude, and on their refusal asked them to suggest someone (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 213). He was to end by taking as curate another of Keble's pupils, Isaac Williams.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 215.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 174. A little earlier Newman wrote to Froude: "Since I am conscious I have got all my best things from Keble and you, I feel ever something of an awkward guilt when I am lauded for my discoveries. . . . You and Keble are the philosophers, and I the rhetorician." Newman often thus depreciated his own work in order to exalt that of the friends to whom he felt he owed his ideas. The future was to show that Newman had more ideas of his

One of the chief advantages of Froude's friendship was that it brought Newman into touch with Keble, and of him Newman held from the first the highest opinion. In his early undergraduate days a friend had pointed out to him a passer-by in the street, saying, "There's Keble," and he had looked at him with feelings which he himself described as of "awe." "He is the first man in Oxford," he wrote to his father. Relating to one of his friends how, in 1822, after having been elected Fellow, he had gone to Oriel to receive the congratulations of those whose colleague he was about to be, he adds: "I could bear the congratulations of Coplestone, but when Keble advanced to take my hand I quite shrank, I could have nearly shrunk into the floor, ashamed of so great an honour." Seated at dinner, the same day, next to Keble, he noticed with admiration his complete lack of affectation. "He is," he wrote, "more like an undergraduate than the first man in Oxford; so perfectly unassuming and unaffected his manner." In spite, however, of the impression caused by this meeting, there had been no intercourse since then between Newman and the man whom he admired so much. While continuing to entertain a deep respect for him, he looked upon him as the representative of ideas entirely divergent from his own. On the other hand, it never occurred to Keble, on his rare visits to Oxford, to seek out a man whom he only knew by reputation as an Evangelical and an intimate friend of Whately.

Immediately he was on good terms with Newman, Froude set himself to destroy these mutual prejudices.

own, and more originality of thought, than he gave himself credit for at the time when he was still under the impression—a very marked one—of the influences which he had just undergone.

Keble listened to him with his usual kindness. Newman had imbibed too much of the inspiration of *The Christian Year*¹ not to be attracted towards its author. However, at the end of 1827 and at the beginning of 1828, the understanding between them had not been completely effected. At this date the position of Provost of Oriel had become vacant, and two candidates were put forward, Keble and Hawkins. The former was supported by Froude. Newman openly took the side of the latter, with whom he had been in close intimacy during his phase of "liberalism." To Froude, who tried to convince him that with Keble the College would become like a new world—purer, more elevated, more free from secular ambitions—Newman replied, with a laugh, that "If an angel's place was vacant, he should look toward Keble, but that they were only electing a Provost." At the same time he wrote to Keble to explain this preference for Hawkins in declaring himself in agreement with Hawkins with regard to religious opinions, modes of thought, and practical ideas; "whereas I have had," he added, "but few opportunities of the pleasure and advantage of your society, and I rather suspect, though I may be mistaken, that, did I know you better, I should find you did not approve opinions, objects and measures to which my own turn of mind has led me to assent." Keble replied, in words free from all bitterness, that he withdrew his candidature, and Hawkins was elected. An incident such as this was likely to retard the understanding between Keble and Newman for which Froude so longed. Nevertheless, it is true that, towards the middle of 1828, Newman kept up an intimate correspondence with Keble, and

¹ *The Christian Year* was published in 1827.

on the latter's invitation he paid him a visit at his vicarage. Once in the way of knowing one another, there sprang up between them a friendship so tender, so religiously intimate, that Newman always declared that it was one of the blessings of his life. It was entirely the work of Froude. "Do you know," he said one day, "the story of the murderer who had done one good thing in his life? Well, if I was ever asked what good deed I have ever done, I should say I had brought [Keble and Newman] to understand each other."¹

These new friendships naturally had the effect of loosening the bonds which had but recently been formed between Newman and the Oriel "liberals." Whately especially had too keen an eye not to perceive the development taking place in his erstwhile disciple, and was of too imperious a nature to treat it with equanimity. It was not, moreover, without umbrage or jealousy that he saw a group of young men begin to gather around Newman, whom he accused of altering his mind only to become in his turn head of a party. The relations with Hawkins, whom Newman had helped to become Provost, at first very cordial, soon became colder. Hawkins disapproved of the pastoral manner in which Newman, Froude, and Robert Wilberforce discharged their tutorial duties. Perhaps, too, he was somewhat jealous of an influence that diminished his own. The conflict, which became daily more acute, reached its climax in 1832 with the enforced resignation of the three tutors, and from that time began the decline of Oriel, which was supplanted by Balliol in the intellectual primacy of Oxford.²

Among Newman's friendships one was unimpaired by

¹ Froude's *Remains*.

² *Memoirs* of Mark Pattison, p. 88.

these events: that which united him to the scholar whom he alluded to in his letters as "dear Pusey." The latter had returned from Germany in 1827, ill and depressed from overwork. Newman was full of anxiety for his friend's health.¹ In the middle of 1828 Pusey received Holy Orders, and was married a few days after. He had not heard that mysterious voice which, in the midst of a clergy with whom marriage was the rule, had so unexpectedly whispered in Newman's ear a call to celibacy. His marriage concluded a simple and pure romance.² At the age of eighteen he fell in love with Mary Catherine Barker, but for unknown reasons his arbitrary father opposed his wishes, and forbade the intercourse. The son, broken-hearted, submitted, but remained faithful to his love. He waited, and sought diversion in exegetical studies and works of piety. At length, after nine years his father relented, and permitted the betrothal. During the engagement, which lasted until Pusey's ordination in the following year, the two young people exchanged love-letters of a far from ordinary kind. He discussed his theological studies and religious subjects with her, and dwelt upon the help he expected from her in his Biblical research. From a sense of duty and affection, she accepted the prospect of this severe task. She was faithful to it, and later on was frequently to be seen at the Bodleian Library, revising for her husband the text of some ancient Father. Notwithstanding this unusual courtship, Pusey's love was none the less deep and tender. Neither years,

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 170, etc.

² For these details, and those which I shall afterwards have to give concerning Pusey's life, I refer, once for all, to the great work begun by Canon Liddon and continued by other disciples of Pusey, the *Life of E. B. Pusey*, in four volumes.

nor old age, nor the separation of the grave could weaken it. One day, in his old age, when he had been more than fifty years a widower, his daughter brought him some sprigs of verbena gathered during a visit to Miss Barker's old home. At the sight of them the old man began to weep, and said: "When I asked your mother to marry me, I offered her a sprig of verbena, and I always associate it with her."

Pusey's marriage drew still closer the bonds of his friendship with Newman. The latter became the friend of the household. Through the meagre accounts which have come down to us we catch a glimpse of the touching figure of Mrs. Pusey, the dutiful wife, with a mind more complex, more searching, more restless, than that of her husband, and for that very reason having much in common with Newman. His sermons strengthened her, while Pusey's somewhat confused writings left her troubled. She mentioned this to her husband, who, with frank humility, forthwith explained to her that Newman was superior to him. She was soon, therefore, on terms of close intimacy with her husband's friend, revered him as a saint, and looked upon herself as his ghostly daughter. He, on his part, directed and influenced her spiritual growth. What would have happened if Mrs. Pusey had not died before Newman's conversion to Catholicism? When their first child was born, Pusey and his wife were anxious that she should be christened by their friend. Soon four children brightened that home. Newman, too, had a place there which he often filled. He, generally so shy and reserved in the outer world, was quite at ease and full of fun with the children—a contrast to Pusey, who, although a very devoted and tender father,

had never been able, as he himself confessed, to take part in the nursery games. A Cambridge student dining with Newman at Pusey's house related the astonishment he felt when, after a theological conversation, he saw Pusey's children come into the drawing-room and climb on to Newman's knees, who amused them by putting his spectacles on their noses, and then treated them to a beautiful fairy-tale, to which they listened with delight.¹ When death had snatched away the eldest child while still very young, Newman was the support and solace of the bereaved parents. "Our dear little one," Pusey wrote, "who, by your ministry, was made a member of Christ's Church, has been removed from all struggle and sin before it knew them. Her departure was sudden, but we have great reason to thank God for His mercies in everything relating to it. She promised fair to have been a meek and quiet spirit here, but she is gone (which, since it is so, must be far better) 'her Father's household to adorn.'"

Though closely in touch with Newman, Pusey was not disposed to look so far along the path where Froude preceded them. In spite of his High Church antecedents, he was at that time considered as being more or less tainted with "liberalism." On his return from Germany, he published a study of German Biblical criticism, and was, later on, appointed to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew. There were several who thought that his book displayed some sympathy with German rationalism, and a controversy took place on the subject between him and Hugh James Rose, of Cambridge, one of the most influential

¹ This kind familiarity with children was usual with Newman. A letter from Mrs. Rickards, at whose house he was on a visit during the vacation of 1827, tells us of a similar scene (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 167).

spokesmen of the High Church set. Newman was distressed at seeing his friend so judged, and tried to defend him; but he recognized that the book was obscure and badly put together, and that it lent itself to misunderstanding.¹ The impression was such that, at the time of his candidature for the Chair of Hebrew, Pusey had to defend himself against the charge of Latitudinarianism. "I believe," he wrote to his old master, Lloyd, who had become Bishop of Oxford, "that practically my opinions are the same as those of the High Church; that, however I may respect individuals, I feel more and more removed from what is called the Low Church. . . . I do not know any subject of controversy between the High and the Low Church in which I do not agree with the former." Anyhow, he was a somewhat cold High Churchman, often voting with the "liberals." He and Newman had done so in 1827 at the Hawkins election. Above all, he was a Whig in politics, and for this reason found himself, in 1829, at an election in which feelings ran high in the University, in the opposite camp to Newman. Notwithstanding all this, Froude had no bad opinion of him. "I hope," he wrote to Newman in 1829, "that Pusey may turn out High Church after all."

VI

It was in a Parliamentary election, in 1829, that the change which made Newman the ally of Keble and of Froude showed itself strikingly for the first time. The political world was then greatly disturbed. There was a growing reaction against Toryism, which had been so long

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 186, etc.

in power. A wind of reform had risen which threatened to overturn all the ancient institutions of England, including the State Church, with its privileges and its endowments. High Churchmen were greatly alarmed at a movement which seemed to them both revolutionary and impious, and opposed all reforms, even such as might be legitimate and beneficial. Thus they and almost all the Anglican clergy resisted Catholic Emancipation, which the great Irish agitator, O'Connell, had long supported, and which, with the support of the Whigs, he succeeded in getting passed in 1829. Soon after, the question was brought before the University, which was represented in Parliament by Robert Peel, the Prime Minister of the day. He had been elected as an opponent of, and had for long resisted, the measure; but reasons of State subsequently led him to alter his opinion, and it was on his motion that it was eventually carried. He therefore considered himself bound in honour to resign his seat and appeal again to his constituents. The struggle was keen. All the "liberals" of the University, old friends of Newman, Whately, and Hawkins, supported Peel. Pusey also sided with them. Keble and Froude were in the opposite camp, and Newman openly joined them. He was careful, indeed, not to declare against Emancipation itself. He had said from the outset that he was not in a position to give an opinion, though, it is true, he had voted in 1827 and 1828, in an assembly of clergy, against a petition denying Catholic rights. But he considered that Peel had broken faith with the University, and that he "was unworthy to represent a religious, straightforward, unpolitical body whose interest he had in some form or other more or less betrayed." Though, moreover, he persisted in not giving his opinion

upon Emancipation, the favour with which it had been received appeared to him "one of the signs of the times of the encroachment of Philosophism and Indifferentism in the Church"; he considered that it had been supported by "hostility to the Established Church," and that it would lead to the downfall of that Church.¹ Peel was defeated: the great majority of the resident members was hostile to him. Newman congratulated himself chiefly upon the fact that all the Resident Fellows of Oriel had been anti-Peelites to a man.

Whately was considerably annoyed by Newman's attitude, and took a humorous revenge: he invited him to dine, and with him some High Churchmen of narrow and rather coarse mind, who were called "the two-bottle orthodox," because, so it was said, they prided themselves, as a protest against the Puritans, on drinking two bottles of port a day. Whately placed Newman between two of the dullest of them, and, when dinner was over, asked him if he was proud of his new friends. This was the beginning of a rupture which, on Whately's part, was soon complete.²

Newman emerged from the fray in a state of unusual excitement. "We have achieved a glorious victory," he wrote; "it is the first public event I have been concerned in, and thank God from my heart for my cause and its success. We have proved the independence of the Church." This last point seemed to him of primary importance, as the Church's practice hitherto had been to fall in line with the Government in office. Some days afterwards he returns to the subject: "What a scribbler I

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 162, 199-206.

² The incident is related by Newman in his *Apologia*.

am become ! But the fact is my mind is so full of ideas, in consequence of this important event, and my views have so much enlarged and expanded, that in justice to myself I ought to write a volume." He foresaw a great attack against the Church, which might end in her disestablishment ; he enumerated the numerous and powerful adversaries with which she had to reckon ; he declared that, for the time being at least, talent was against her ; but, nevertheless, that this " poor defenceless Church " had, at Oxford, just resisted the blow aimed at her, and thus it was a revelation to him of the power a united clergy might wield. Could they not therefore be depended upon to resist other dangers ? Henceforward he foresaw the necessity of a campaign, which Froude likewise impressed upon him.

Meanwhile the French Revolution of 1830 broke out, and the whole of Europe was shaken by it. In England a violent impulse was given to the democratic movement. The wind of reform that had been blowing for several years became a tempest. The incoming of a Liberal Ministry not only insured an early victory for electoral reform, but seemed also to forebode what was then called the reform of the Church. The Whigs openly declared their intention of curtailing her revenues and hierarchical privileges, and even of revising her liturgy and her creeds. And this work was to be carried on by a Parliament which the suppression of tests had just opened to Dissenters. What could the Established Church do in self-defence ? She was accustomed to rely entirely upon the State, and by the State she was now menaced. She could not expect any aid from public opinion. Her very patent abuses, the worldliness of her clergy, the uncertainty of her beliefs,

her almost complete lack of spiritual life, the impotence she showed in responding to the fresh needs of a society which was becoming democratic and industrial, had for a long time past brought her into discredit. Her recent support of the most reactionary opponents of all political reforms had further alienated her. Writers, interpreters or inspirers of the public mind, were wellnigh unanimous in attacking her. The Prime Minister, in the House of Lords, openly bade the bishops, with a scornful and threatening severity, "to put their house in order." Bishops were insulted in the streets. Contemporary witnesses must be consulted to realize how the Church was conscious of impending ruin. Everywhere the same cry of alarm and discouragement. Arnold declared that "no human power could save her in her present state,"¹ and he offered no other remedy save that she should throw her creeds to the winds and open her doors to Dissenters. Many gave up the struggle; the Church seemed to them to be on her deathbed, and she had nothing more to do (to quote the expression of a contemporary) except "to wrap herself up in her cloak, and to die with the greatest amount of dignity of which she was capable."

Some clergymen, however, were unwilling to surrender without a struggle, and, in opposition to these attacks, dreamt of raising again the High Church standard. Newman, confirmed by these events in his opinion that the Church was in danger, did not despair. The weakness of the clergy made him indignant. In his eyes it was not simply a case of resisting demands for reform and defending an obsolete *statu quo* which he was among the first to realize. Just at this time, at the request of

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, vol. i., p. 326.

Mr. Rose, of Cambridge, who was recruiting writers for a theological series, he had undertaken a *History of the Council of Nicea and of the Arians of the Fourth Century*.¹ He had plunged eagerly into the study of this, to him, always attractive period, and wished it were possible to base the Anglican position upon it. Full of admiration for the great Church of Alexandria, he was deeply impressed by the teachings of its theologians and its philosophers. Some portions of their teaching, he said, magnificent in themselves, came like music to his inward ear, as if the response to ideas which, with little external to encourage them, he had cherished so long. But, in considering that great epoch, he could not refrain from contrasting it with the state of his own Church, and summed up thus his reflections thereupon: "With the Establishment thus divided and threatened, thus ignorant of its true strength, I compared that fresh vigorous power of which I was reading in the first centuries. In her triumphant zeal on behalf of that Primeval Mystery to which I had so great a devotion from my youth, I recognized the movement of my Spiritual Mother. *Incessu patuit Dea*. The self-conquest of her Ascetics, the patience of her Martyrs, the irresistible determination of her Bishops, the joyous swing of her advance, both exalted and abashed me. I said to myself, 'Look on this picture and on that.'" We must not expect, however, that from the revelations which history thus shows him, Newman would at this time draw the conclusion at which he was only to arrive fifteen years later. "I felt," he adds, "affection for my own Church, but not tenderness; I felt dismay at her pros-

¹ This book, begun in 1830 and finished in 1832, was published at the end of 1833, under the title *The Arians of the Fourth Century*.



pects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity. . . . I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination; still, I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ. She was nothing unless she was this. She must be dealt with strongly or she would be lost. There was need of a second Reformation.”¹ Thus originated what was to be, for several years, Newman’s leading idea: the Church of England, whose life was threatened, could only be saved by repudiating that which had so long perverted her, and by regaining her supernatural spirit, and by acquiring a consciousness of her Divine origin and mission.

Froude held the same ideas with greater impetuosity. The prospect of conflict inspirited him. He urged his companions to speak strongly and energetically. Even less than Newman did he intend to confine himself to the defence of a *statu quo* which he despised. “Froude,” wrote James Mozley in 1832, “is daily becoming more vehement in his ideas, and he is launching out around him on all sides. It is extremely fine to hear him talk. The country aristocracy is now the chief object of his vituperations . . . and he thinks that the Church will eventually have to rely upon the very poor classes, as that has already been the case with it at times when it has wielded the strongest influence.” The same authority adds a little later: “Froude really entertains so excessive a hatred for the present state of things that any change

¹ *Apologia*.

will be a relief to him." And again: "Froude is very enthusiastic about his plans. What a joy," he says, "it is to live at such a time, and who would now go back to the times of the old Tory humbugs!"¹ And so one is not astonished to see the former "cavalier" becoming a democrat, and allowing himself to be beguiled by the ideas which Lamennais and Lacordaire were at that time developing in *l'Avenir*. "There is now in France," he wrote, "a High Church party who are Republicans² and wish for universal suffrage, on the ground that as the suffrage falls lower the influence of the Church makes itself more felt. . . . Don't be surprised if one of these days you find us turning Radicals on similar grounds."³

VII

Minds were being enkindled. Nevertheless, the ideas fermenting in the brains of Newman and of Froude were not yet realized. At that time they were little more than Common Room conversations and projects. At most, in his sermons at St. Mary's, Newman sometimes uttered a cry of alarm, announced a mighty crisis to be at hand for the Church and society, and strove to reinforce men's courage. In truth, the battle, though foreseen, had not yet begun. It did not even appear sufficiently imminent for the future combatants to hesitate about going abroad. Froude had felt in 1831 the first attacks of the chest disease that was to carry him off. He was medically advised to spend the winter in the South of Europe, and he invited Newman to accompany him. The latter was,

¹ Church's *Oxford Movement*, pp. 49, 50.

² On this particular point Froude was misinformed.

³ Froude's *Remains*.

through Hawkins, discharged from his tutorial duties. He had just finished his book on the Arians, and his shaken health required rest. He accepted his friend's proposal, and they both set sail in December, 1832.

At first they toured in the Mediterranean as far as the coasts of Greece. They enjoyed the beauties of the scenery, the monuments of art, the historical, literary, and religious memories, steeped as they were in both classic and Christian antiquity. But, even at places most saturated with pagan reminiscences, their thoughts readily took a religious turn, and were led from the beauties of earth to raise their minds in prayer to God. So we gather from the poems in which the two travellers, especially Newman, who was the more poetical of the two, expressed their daily impressions.¹

They arrived in Rome in the early days of March, and stayed five weeks. They kept apart from the Catholic world, and did not wish to familiarize themselves with its inner life. Their only significant step was to call on the rector of the English College, who already enjoyed a certain reputation, and was one day to wield an influence over the religious destinies of England: his name was Nicholas Wiseman. Newman and Froude questioned him as to the conditions of a possible alliance between the two Churches. They went away charmed with the rector's welcome, but convinced that the Roman teaching

¹ These various poems have been published, with a small number of others written before or after, and some productions of Keble, Isaac Williams, Robert Wilberforce, and Bowden, under the title *Lyra Apostolica*. This publication began in the spring of 1833 in the *British Magazine*, a review edited by Mr. Rose, of Cambridge, which was to draw together the defenders of the Church. The whole was published together in one volume in 1836.

on the authority of councils in general and of the Council of Trent in particular made agreement impossible. For his part, Wiseman was struck by the truly catholic spirit and the perfect sincerity of the young clergymen, and the hopes derived from meeting them had a decisive influence on his future plans.¹ Newman was unconscious of the impression made, and a short time after the visit wrote to his sister: "Oh that Rome were not Rome! but I seem to see as clear as day that a union with her is *impossible*. She is the cruel Church asking of us impossibilities, excommunicating us for disobedience, and now watching and exulting over our approaching ruin." It seemed as though during this journey Newman was unable to speak of Rome with composure. He was deeply moved by the sacred memories which met him at every step on that soil covered with the dust of Apostles; his heart was torn at leaving it, and, at the same time, his old prejudices showed him, in that city, the "great enemy of God," the accursed "Beast" of the Apocalypse. He seems every moment to be struggling against these divergent impressions, and the conflict troubled him. "This is indeed a cruel place," he wrote. And he always returned to this strange exclamation: "Ah! Rome, if thou wert not Rome!" In the Catholic churches he felt the charm of that holy poetry which he used to reproach the Reformers with having destroyed in his own country. He does justice to the dignity of the Roman clergy, whom he distinguishes in this respect from the Neapolitan; he acknowledges "a deep substratum of Christianity" in that class of men, and the moment after scornfully

¹ *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, by Wilfrid Ward, vol. i., pp. 117-119.

denounces what appears to him to be "a system of superstitions," a religion that remained "polytheistic, degrading, and idolatrous," and thus concludes: "As to the *Roman* Catholic system, I have ever detested it so much that I cannot detest it more by seeing it; but to the Catholic system I am more attached than ever."¹ In short, this wholly *prima facie* exterior view of a Catholic country did not bring Newman any nearer Catholicism. This was still more marked in Froude, who till then had often astonished his co-religionists by his sympathies with and admiration for the Church of Rome. He was shocked, scandalized, and irritated by all he saw in Italy. "I remember," he wrote from Naples, February 17, 1833, to one of his friends, "you told me that I should come back a better Englishman than I went away; better satisfied not only that our Church is nearest in theory right, but also that practically, in spite of its abuses, it works better; and to own the truth, your prophecy is already nearly realized."²

In other respects it was not Catholicism that most occupied the minds of the two travellers; even from afar their own Church was the main object of their thoughts. News from England convinced them that the situation there was daily becoming more alarming. During their stay in Rome they heard that the Government had just brought in a Bill for suppressing half of the Anglican bishoprics in Ireland. The existence of these bishops without flocks, whose rich endowments were drawn from Irish Catholics, was doubtless unjustifiable; but the defenders of the Established Church, neglecting this

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 336, etc.

² *Remains*, vol. i., p. 293.

aspect of the question, were irritated at seeing the State, without even consulting the ecclesiastical authorities, interfere with its organization. Where will they stop in this onward course? Are they not going to do the same in England? Newman, from afar, shared the indignation against this to him "atrocious and sacrilegious Irish Bill!" "Well done, my blind Premier," he writes; "confiscate and rob till, like Samson, you pull down the Political Structure on your own head!" He was at that time in a singular state of excitement regarding these subjects. "Now that I am at my confessions, it may be as well to add that I have (alas!) experienced none of that largeness and expansion of mind which one of my friends privately told me I should get from travelling. I cannot boast of any greater gifts of philosophic coolness than before, and on reading the papers of the beginning and middle of February, I hate the Whigs (of course, as Rowena says, in a Christian way) more bitterly than ever." The news of Keble's inclination to come out of his shell in order to protest makes him rejoice, and leads him to hope for great results in the future. "If he is once roused," he wrote, "he will prove a second St. Ambrose. And the others, too, are stirring themselves."¹ He did not mean to remain inactive. In the campaign which he foresaw on his giving up his tutorial duties and forgoing the studious and peaceful existence which he had led for six years, he regarded it in the light of a call to a new life and of a wider sphere of action. Now that thought recurred to him in a more precise and persistent way. He felt there was a work to be done, and that the workman was needed. In his hours of solitude he repeated to himself,

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 353, 372, 377.

“Exoriare aliquis!” Might not he be the “workman” awaited? A glimpse at this may be had in his letters to his friends. At the time of his visit to Mgr. Wiseman, when the latter courteously invited him to visit Rome again, he had replied with great gravity: “We have a work to do in England.”¹

Newman and Froude separated on leaving Rome, at the beginning of April, 1833. While the latter returned to England by way of Germany, Newman set out for Sicily. In the heart of the island through which he was travelling in order to pass from Syracuse to Palermo, far from all help, having only his Italian servant with him, he fell seriously ill of fever, and for several days hovered between life and death. In after-years he always looked upon this illness, happening at a crucial stage in his career, as a mysterious and decisive crisis in which he had been more directly under God’s Hand, and carefully recalled and dwelt upon such incidents of his illness as he remembered.² He again saw himself upon his bed, a prey to delirium, under the impression that “God was fighting against him” in order to conquer “his self-will.” It seemed to him that he had then lived over again all the circumstances of his life in which he had given way to this temptation; then he called to mind the most consoling and overpowering impression which he felt at the thought that “God, in His love, had chosen him and made him His own.” He saw himself again, giving, in sight of death, his last instructions to his servant, but adding these words, the meaning of which he was never afterwards able to explain: “I shall not die; I shall not

¹ *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 413-430, and *Apologia*.

die, for I have not sinned against the light . . . I have not sinned against the light;" or again, "I do not think that I am dying: God has still a work for me to do." He finally saw himself when, though still weak, he had started on his journey to Palermo, sitting on the bed just before leaving the inn, sobbing bitterly, and only able to reply to the question of his servant, who understood not a word, "I have a work to do in England."

Having with difficulty reached Palermo, Newman stayed there three weeks waiting for a ship in which to sail. "I was aching to get home," he says. The only refuge for his impatience he found in visiting the churches. Although he did not attend any services, and knew nothing of the presence of the Blessed Sacrament there, he found in these visits a great peacefulness, which he compared, in verses written at the time, to the oil and the wine poured by the Good Samaritan on the sores of the wounded traveller. At last, on June 10, 1833, he was able to leave Palermo, crossed the Mediterranean, and then France, his face always towards England, impatient at the delays caused by adverse winds or fatigue, hurrying towards the land whence he had heard the mysterious voice saying that he had "a work to do." He has revealed to us his state of mind during this period in a poem which has since become well known, *Lead, kindly light*, which he composed during a dark night while walking the deck of the vessel, becalmed in the Straits of Bonifacio:

"Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom,
Lead Thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home—
Lead Thou me on!
Keep Thou my feet; I do not ask to see
The distant scene,—one step enough for me.

" I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
Shouldst lead me on.
I loved to choose and see my path, but now
Lead Thou me on !
I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will : remember not past years.
" So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone ;
And with the morn those Angel faces smile,
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile."

Newman landed in England on July 9, 1833. Some days afterwards what is called " The Oxford Movement " began.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MOVEMENT

(1833—1836)

- I. Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy" gives the signal for the Movement—Different tendencies of Newman and Froude on the one side, and of Palmer, Perceval, and Rose on the other—Publication of the first *Tract for the Times*—The succeeding *Tracts*—Palmer wishes to end them—Newman, urged by Froude, refuses. II. Address to the Archbishop of Canterbury—Success of the *Tracts*—Newman and the Church of Rome. III. Pusey's accession to the Movement—Modification in the form of the *Tracts*—Newman congratulates himself on the position Pusey adopts—The *Library of the Fathers*—He continues, none the less, to be the leader of the Movement. IV. Illness and death of Froude. V. Newman at St. Mary's—His efforts to improve its worship and to deepen religious life—His sermons—The character of his eloquence—The subjects treated—Extraordinary influence of these sermons.

ON his return to Oxford in July, 1833, Newman found his friends greatly stirred by the Bill to suppress some of the bishoprics of the Anglican Church in Ireland. In their eyes it was the opening of an era of persecution. They were persuaded that this first blow struck by the State at the rights of the Church was to be followed by many others. Keble, usually disinclined to put himself forward and to enter a contest, was not the least moved. The gentle poet of *The Christian Year* wrote verses of unusual severity against "the ruffian band come to reform, where ne'er they came to pray."¹ Called upon, on July 14, to

¹ This poem was published, with those of Newman and others, in the *Lyra Apostolica*.

preach the Assize Sermon before the University of Oxford, he seized the opportunity to sound the alarm. He attributed to his fellow-countrymen the warning given by the prophet Samuel to the Israelites who no longer wished God to be their King. After having recalled the fact that "England, as long as she was a Christian nation, was a part of the Church of Christ, and that she was bound, in all her legislation and policy, by the fundamental laws of that Church," he declared that to deny this principle, as was done by the Bill in question, was to repudiate the sovereignty of God, and for such an act the word "apostasy" did not seem to him too strong. "Here," he added, "there had formerly been a glorious Church, but she had been handed over to the hands of libertines for the genuine or affected love of a little temporary peace and of good order." He proclaimed that at such a crisis every faithful Churchman should devote himself entirely to the cause of "the Apostolic Church." That the soldiers in this noble struggle might at first be few in numbers, that for a long while yet they might see "the disorder of irreligion" triumph, was possible; but he reminded them, in conclusion, of the promises made to Christians, and assured them that sooner or later their cause would be wholly victorious. The sermon was printed at once, under the title *National Apostasy*, with a preface urging Churchmen to consider the duty which the "intrusion" and "usurpation" of the State had imposed on them, and created a great stir. Newman wrote later "that he had ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious Movement of 1833."¹

The question was how to give a practical sequel to this

¹ *Apologia*, end of chap. i.

appeal. Some of the clergy at once sought to act in concert. These were, first of all, Keble, who was quite aroused by his own sermon; Froude, more impetuous than ever, longing for the fight and hating a calm;¹ and Newman, who was so physically and morally elated by the joy of restored health, being at home again, meeting his friends, and undertaking a great work, that people did not know him.² There were, also, three older men, who enjoyed greater prestige in virtue of their positions, their writings, and their relations with the high ecclesiastical world. They were Hugh James Rose, of Cambridge, Vicar of Hadleigh, an author of talent, a man of exalted mind and noble character, devoted to the High Church cause, who, in order to keep its defenders together, had, in the preceding year, founded the *British Magazine*;³ William Palmer, who had come from the University of Dublin to that of Oxford, an expert in theological controversies, though lacking in depth and originality; and Arthur Perceval, Vicar of East Horsley, a very respectable type of the clergyman of aristocratic Tory family. These two groups of men, who came from different environments, but were united in a very deep feeling of the common peril, carried on a correspondence, and at the end of July

¹ "I deprecate a calm," Froude wrote to Newman (*Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. i., p. 457).

² Speaking himself of this elation, Newman said that his friends were so surprised at it that they hesitated before they recognized him (*Apologia*).

³ In spite of some differences of opinion, Newman always felt much sympathy and esteem for Rose, and in 1838, at the time when the latter was dying prematurely abroad, he dedicated to him one of his volumes of sermons. He addressed him as the man "who, when hearts were failing, had called on them to stir up the gift of God in them and to rally round their true mother" (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 277).

and during August several conferences took place, either at Rose's house or in the Oriel Common Room.

All were agreed "that something had to be done, and that it must be done quickly." Only, when it came to what that "something" was, a divergence of views made itself apparent. In Rose, in Perceval, and above all in Palmer, a conservative prepossession was predominant; to resist all the attempts at reform which interfered with the rights of the Church was sufficient for them. It was in this purely defensive design that they sought to arouse a movement of public opinion. Further, in the case of men of serious minds who held responsible positions and who were afraid of being compromised, there was a desire that the Movement should remain *respectable*; collective action seemed to them the most effectual and the easiest to control. They therefore purposed organizing a great association, and, in order to guard against the excesses of individuals, they wished to have all publications and other proceedings controlled by managing committees composed of eminent and sagacious men. Such prudence was not to the liking of Newman and Froude. With Keble's approbation, not guidance, they did not merely intend to confine themselves to defending the Church, whose state they considered unsatisfactory against innovators. In opposition to "liberal" reform they set up the idea, still imperfectly defined in their minds, but very deep-seated, of a counter-reform with a Catholic tendency. They intended restoring much of what had been destroyed during preceding centuries to institutions, to beliefs, and to the minds of men. What for Palmer and his friends was but a clerical campaign against the enterprises of a party, should be, according to Newman

and Froude, a religious Movement far outstripping the casual accidents of the politics of the day. These latter were so far from calling themselves "Conservatives" that the word, in their mouths, was almost an insult, and they prided themselves on being, in their own way, "Radicals."¹ In order to put their ideas into action they felt the need of speaking loudly and strongly; they wanted to be "agitators," and were not, like their cautious allies, afraid of compromising themselves. "Froude and I," Newman wrote later, "were nobodies, with no character to lose, and no antecedents to fetter us." Enthusiasm seemed to them much more necessary than prudence. They wanted to go ahead, at the hazard of running some risks and of appearing a little less "respectable." Is it surprising that with such feelings they were far from pleased to see the individual initiative shut up in a great association, and controlled by committees? They preferred personal writings, free and bold in aim, in which each spoke on his own responsibility, to collective manifestoes, carefully revised, and thereby softened and blunted. Between views so dissimilar any agreement was difficult. The impetuous Froude was anxious to make a sensation, and to break immediately with Rose and his friends. Newman sought to quiet him, and to use Keble's influence.² But, if he did not intend lightly to brush aside the co-operation of influential and sincere men, he none the less acted on his own initiative and in pursuance of his own ideas. On September 9, 1833, with the cordial approval

¹ Newman wrote to his young friend Rogers on August 31, 1833: "I confess, Tory as I still am theoretically and historically, I begin to be a Radical practically." See, for the same idea, a letter dated September 8 (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 450, 454).

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 439, 442.

of Keble and Froude, and without having consulted his other allies, he published the first of the *Tracts for the Times*. This anonymous pamphlet of three pages begins thus: *Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission. Respectfully addressed to the Clergy*. "I am but one of yourselves—a Presbyterian; and therefore I conceal my name, lest I should take too much on myself by speaking in my own person. Yet speak I must; for the times are very evil, yet no one speaks against them. Is not this so? Do not we 'look one upon another,' yet perform nothing? Do we not all confess the peril into which the Church is come, yet sit still, each in his own retirement, as if mountains and seas cut off brother from brother? Therefore suffer me, while I try to draw you forth from those pleasant retreats, which it has been our blessedness hitherto to enjoy, to contemplate the condition and prospects of our Holy Mother in a practical way; so that one and all may unlearn that idle habit, which has grown upon us, of owning the state of things to be bad, yet doing nothing to remedy it." The author continues in this tone, rousing those whom he wishes to awaken out of their lethargy. But was it enough to make them really feel the danger? How could courage be given to a Church which was disabled and crushed at the thought that she was threatened by that State upon which she had grown accustomed to lean for support? Here came in the master idea not only of this *Tract*, but of all this first period of the Movement: it was the doctrine of the *Apostolical Succession*. The *Tract*, in clear, vivid, and urgent language, reminded the clergy, who had forgotten it, that their power did not depend on the State, that they ought to look upon it as a gift from God, transmitted uninterruptedly from the Apostles to the bishops,

and from the bishops to the priests whom they ordained. Thus he endeavours to raise their hearts; to make them conscious of what they had long lost sight of, their authority, their dignity, and their greatness; to give them a glimpse of a more supernatural conception of the Church and of religion. Other *Tracts* followed one after another, in September and the following months. The second attacked the Irish Bill, and blamed its having been passed without consulting the Church; the third denounced the alterations in the liturgy and funeral services; the fourth returned to the Apostolical Succession; the fifth explained the constitution of the Church of Christ and of that branch of it established in England. The remainder treated of analogous subjects, insisting chiefly on the Divine organization of the Church, her sacraments and her liturgy, and endeavouring in everything to make religion loftier, deeper, and more real. They had the same appearance and style as the first, being only a few pages in length,¹ going straight and sharply to the point, not afraid of surprising, even of offending. They were often cries of alarm, appeals for help, "as a man might give notice of a fire or inundation."² The *Tracts* were published anonymously in Oxford, as Newman attached much importance to its imprint. He was convinced that "the Universities are the natural centres of intellectual movements,"³ and that Oxford in particular had always and could still exercise a strong influence over the Church of England. Had he

¹ "A tract is long enough," Newman wrote to Perceval, "if it fills four octavo pages." Some, however, had seven, eight, and even eleven pages.

² It was thus that in 1836 the preface, placed by the editors at the beginning of the third volume of the collection of *Tracts*, characterized the first of these *Tracts*.

³ *Apologia*.

dared he would have named the series *Oxford Tracts*, but expected, not unreasonably, that the public would so designate them.¹ Several friends collaborated with him; thus the fourth *Tract* is Keble's, the fifth by a lawyer, John William Bowden,² a devoted friend of Newman from his early University days. Froude was hindered by illness, and had to confine himself to stimulating the enthusiasm of the others. The greater number of the *Tracts* (nine out of the first seventeen), the most brilliant and impressive, were by Newman. Without aiming at literary effect, and solely to propagate views deemed by him necessary for the welfare of the Church, he revealed, in these short and hastily written pamphlets, literary gifts hitherto unknown to the public, or even to himself; and especially evinced all his incomparable power of probing the innermost heart. Moreover, his activity was prodigious; at the same time as the *Tracts*, he wrote for the *British Magazine* and in other publications, contemplated the foundation of a quarterly review, published his poems of the *Lyra Apostolica* and his book on the Arians, pursued his studies of the Fathers and of the Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century.

The enthusiasm which Newman brought to bear upon all these works was not free from a certain feverish excitement. He described in later years his exuberance of warlike energy during these beginnings of the Movement. Pen in hand, or in the course of conversation, his methods of discussion sometimes became aggressive; he did not mind

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 440, 483; vol. ii., p. 8.

² At the time of Bowden's death in 1844, Newman spoke in the most moving terms of what this intimacy of twenty-seven years had been to him (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 435-440).

offending people, or startling them, or making sport of them with rather a scornful irony ; it was, what he himself has called it, his " period of fierceness." It would be an incomplete and false idea to see in him a mere agitator absorbed by such activities. On the contrary, what dominated Newman, even in his hours of excitement, was the inner man—not only the man whose constantly active intelligence is changed by Divine truths, but one whose soul aspires to an ideal of sanctity, and seeks to raise itself as near as possible to God. His spiritual life was ever intense in the thick of the struggle. He converted a lumber-room near his study in Oriel into an oratory, where he frequently spent the night in prayer, and was often overheard by those who came late into the College.¹ His actions, his writings, his polemics, all were offered to God. " I think I am conscious to myself," he wrote to one of his sisters, " that, whatever are my faults, I wish to live and die to His glory—to surrender wholly to Him as His instrument, to whatever work and at whatever personal sacrifice."² In spite of his humility and of his rather sullen reserve, the outside world perceived his fervent and deep piety, his complete absence of worldly ambition, his self-discipline and ascetic mode of life, which were not the least potent reason of his moral authority.

To write *Tracts* was not enough ; it was essential they should reach the public. The difficulty at the outset was great. There was no author's name to attract attention. The booksellers were not eager to undertake the distribution of goods too trifling to repay them, while the postage,

¹ Mozley's *Reminiscences*, vol. i., p. 396.

² *Letters and Correspondence* vol. ii., p. 170.

still costly at the time, did not offer the facilities of to-day. Zealous friends undertook to distribute these pamphlets themselves, and spent days riding from one vicarage to another, armed with propagandist instructions drawn up by Newman.¹ He himself set the example, and went about the country calling upon clergy whom he did not know, so as to bring his publications before them.² The effect was immediate and considerable. Impressed by this new voice, the ecclesiastical world, which seemed depressed and dormant, had, as it were, an unexpected trembling of life. Hitherto, under the titles of *Tracts* nothing had been known save the edifying insipidities of the Bible Societies: now there was something which bore little resemblance to these. People read with curiosity: they were surprised, captivated, and aroused. Amongst the clergy many felt flattered, consoled, strengthened, at learning that they possessed supernatural titles which distinguished them from Dissenting ministers, and against which the State could do nothing. Their horizon, but lately degraded and narrowed, was exalted and enlarged. One would even have said, on seeing the grateful eagerness of their adhesion, that this higher and deeper view of religion answered to a need long vaguely felt—an anticipation of their souls.³ Many others, it is true, startled in their Protestant prejudices or disturbed in their routine of life, declared that the ideas were suspicious and the mode of their expression shocking. The bishops, amongst others, relished but little these troublesome disturbers of their repose, and it was but natural that they should look

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 4.

² *Apologia*.

³ Manning affirmed that "the majority of the Anglican clergy was predisposed to receive the principles and spirit of the Oxford Movement" (*England and Christendom*, Introduction, p. 38).

askance at publications in which, as in the first *Tract*, the author, whilst exalting their office, declared that he "could not wish them a more blessed termination of their course than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom." They were astonished, and somewhat embarrassed, to hear it said that they were the successors of the Apostles, as they only regarded themselves as dignified gentlemen, chosen by the Crown to administer the ecclesiastical department. The majority had never an opinion on the doctrine, and one of them, when reading the *Tract* which spoke of it for the first time, could not make up his mind whether to admit it or not.¹

Palmer and Perceval, who were not contributors to the early *Tracts*, were perturbed at the turn they took and at the sensation they made.² This was not their ideal of a prudent campaign. They held many of the doctrines advocated, notably that of Apostolic Succession, but disliked the mode of advocacy. They were disconcerted at the effect on high ecclesiastical dignitaries, from whom they daily received complaints, and feared to compromise themselves. In the middle of September, 1833, when the first *Tracts* had but just appeared, Palmer claimed that none should henceforward be issued without the sanction of a directive committee.³ Newman felt strongly that this would be to take away all efficiency from the writings. "If," he said, "you correct them according to the wishes of a board, you will have nothing but tame, dull composi-

¹ *Apologia*.

² Rose, on the contrary, appeared to be satisfied with the first *Tracts* (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 434, 463 ; vol. ii., p. 7). He was, it is true, easy to influence in an opposite sense (*ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 34, 36).

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 457.

tions, which will take no one; there will be no rhetoric in them which is necessarily *πρός τινα*."¹ He recognized that they had been violent; it was necessary to capture and rouse opinion; in consequence of this agitation they must not take fright. "One gains nothing," he said, "by sitting still. I am sure the Apostles did not sit still."² However, in course of time Palmer's anxiety and discontent, far from being appeased, only increased. He spoke of drawing up a circular which should disown the *Tracts*, and brought pressure to bear upon Newman in order to get him to suspend their publication, and actually told his High Church friends that this suspension was effected. Under this pressure Newman's nervous and sensitive nature experienced conflicting impressions. Sometimes he was all on fire to resist it; he confidently enumerated the friends on whom he could rely, and mentioned the growing sympathies which were beginning to appear on so many matters, and was little disquieted by the malcontents. "We shall defeat them,"³ he wrote. At other times he, seemed disturbed; he scrupled at being too strongly attached to his own personal feelings and at offending

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 463.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 449. Newman, some months later, returned to the same idea in a letter to Perceval. "As to the *Tracts*," he wrote to him, "everyone has his own taste. You object to some things, another to others. If we altered to please everyone, the effect would be spoilt. They were not intended as symbols *ex cathedra*, but as the expression of *individual* minds, and individuals feeling strongly. While on the one hand they are incidentally faulty in mode or language, on the other they are still peculiarly effective. No great work was ever done by a system, whereas systems arise out of individual exertions. Luther was an individual. The very faults of an individual excite attention; he loses, but his cause, if good, and he powerful-minded, gains. This is the way of things; we promote truth by a self-sacrifice" (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 57).

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 482.

men whom he held in honour; he asked himself if he were not running the risk of finding himself alone and without the necessary help; at one moment, even, he was on the point of yielding.¹ In this state of anxiety, which was a source of grief to him, he wrote to his dear Froude, whom illness had compelled to go away, and begged him for advice which would make things clear.² The reply was not delayed; it was concise. "As to giving up the *Tracts*," wrote Froude, on November 17, 1833, "the notion is odious. We must throw the Z's overboard."³ Keble, too, encouraged Newman: "I like your papers better and better," he wrote on November 19.⁴

Thus reassured, Newman was not again tempted to yield. He resolutely upheld the *Tracts*, and did not hesitate to justify their tone. One of his friends, the Rev. Samuel Rickards, having considered it fit to address him a protest against "the irritated and irritating spirit" in which these pamphlets were written, he replied to him, November 22, 1833: "Your letters are always acceptable, and do not fancy one is less so which happens to be oburgatory. Faithful are the blows of a friend, and surely I may be antecedently sure that I require them in many respects. As to our present doings, we are set off and with God's speed we will go forward, through evil report and good report, through real and supposed blunders. We are as men climbing a rock, who tear clothes and flesh and slip now and then, and yet make

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 478, 479; vol. ii., p. 32; *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 479.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 484. Froude was accustomed to call the old-fashioned High Churchmen "Z's."

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 485.

progress (so be it!), and are careless that bystanders criticize so that their cause gains while they lose. . . . This, then, is our position: connected with no association, answerable to no one except God and His Church, committing no one, bearing the blame, doing the work. I trust I speak sincerely in saying I am willing that it be said I go too far, so that I may push on the cause of truth some little way. Surely it is energy that gives edge to any undertaking, and energy is ever incautious and exaggerated. I do not say this to excuse such defects, or as conscious of having them myself, but as a consolation and explanation to those who love me, but are sorry at some things I do. Be it so; it is well to fall if you kill your adversary. Nor can I wish anyone a happier lot than to be himself unfortunate, yet to urge on a triumphant cause; like Laud and Ken in their day, who left a name which after ages censure or pity, but whose works do follow them." Further on he justified the tone of the *Tracts*, saying that it was necessary "to wake the clergy." "Willingly would I be said to write in an irritating and irritated way, if in that way I rouse people. I maintain that (whether rightly or wrongly, but I *maintain*) by ways such as these alone can one move them." Then, after having replied to other critics, he added these lines, in which were revealed the impressions of this complex mind, and the mournful sensitiveness it exhibited even in the hour of his strongest resolutions: "We will take advice and thank you; we will thank you for cuffs; but we will take our own line according to the light given us by Almighty God and His holy Church. We trust to be independent of all men, and to be liable to be stopped by none, and it is a weakness to be pained, which

I hope to get over. Time was when to know the greater part of Oxford was against me would have saddened me. That I have got over, I think, but still I suffer when criticized by friends. Never suppose I shall be 'overpraised.' I hear but the faults of what I do. It is good for me I should do so, but sometimes I am apt to despair, and with difficulty am I kept up to my work. Nay, I am apt to go into the other extreme, and peevishly fancy men my enemies, as anticipating opposition as a matter of course. But enough of this."¹

II

The great association contemplated by Palmer and his friends was unrealized. They had merely succeeded in establishing local societies in various places,² and fell back upon the idea, suggested by Newman, of an address in which the members of the clergy should declare to the Archbishop of Canterbury their attachment to the Church and her rights. Although the wording of this address had been gradually weakened, first to please one and then another, and though it was at last not much more than "a milk-and-water production," as Archdeacon Froude, Richard Hurrell Froude's father, used to call it, it was remarkable as having roused the 7,000 clergymen whose signatures it bore. In this way the defenders of the Church, hitherto scattered and isolated, were made conscious of their number and cohesion. The bishops were warned that the feelings of their clergy had to be

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., pp. 485-491.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 450, 454.

reckoned with. The address was presented to the Primate in February, 1834, and was followed shortly after by an address from the laity, drawn up in the same spirit, and signed by 230,000 heads of families.

Important as they were, these petitions were only an episode without sequel. Permanent action was always expressed by means of the *Tracts*. In 1834 nobody any longer dreamt of suspending their publication. There was no longer need of distributing them from hand to hand; their notoriety helped their circulation, without, however, overcoming the financial difficulties which weighed heavily on Newman. Some of the *Tracts* were in such demand that a second edition of some was called for; but this did not mean that they reached everywhere. Amongst the people, and amongst the lower middle classes, they were ignored or suspected. It was among the educated, amongst the clergy, and such of the laity as had passed through the Universities, that they were read with curiosity and discussed with heat. Opposition was widespread, and became more pronounced with success. The Evangelicals denounced with horror the Papistical tendencies of the Tractarians; the two-bottle orthodox jeered at their asceticism; the "liberals" denounced their dogmatic rigour; those who prided themselves on their wisdom accused them of rashness, exaggeration, and of violence; the mass of frivolous minds disliked them for compelling them to think about certain difficult subjects, and thus adding to their responsibility. But if criticisms increased, so did men's sympathies; they disclosed themselves in many different quarters, often where there was no reason to expect them. "They made their way in such a subtle fashion," said Newman, "that we can't find any apparent

trace of the way they came.”¹ At all events, whether the reception was favourable or hostile, men’s minds were roused. This was the very thing Newman desired. “Our business,” he wrote, “is only to give men a shove now and then.”² At another time he compared “the stimulus [of the *Tracts*] to . . . the application of volatile salts to a person fainting—pungent, but restorative.”³ Beyond that he did not take any notice of immediate results. “Our time is not yet come,” he wrote, adding, “I expect nothing favourable for fifteen or twenty years.”⁴

To affirm and to justify the frank and bold way of speaking which continued to be the characteristic of the *Tracts*, Newman decided to add to them this postscript: “If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?”⁵ He was no more inclined than in the past to give a reason to those who blamed him for having gone too far. “I cannot say with truth that I repent,” he said, “of any one passage in them (the *Tracts*). If it were all to come over again (I do not think I should have courage, for attacks make one timid, but) I should wish to do just the same.”⁶ He still wrote the greater number of them, but obtained more help. Others joined themselves to Keble and the early contributors. Even Perceval and Palmer, in spite of their grievances, did not withhold their support. As for Froude, the progress of his illness obliged him to go out to Barbados, but in spite of this he was not unacquainted with what was happening. Newman kept him posted as

¹ An article published in the *British Critic*, April, 1839, on “The State of the Religious Parties.”

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 48, 124.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 41.

to the trend of events, consulted him, declared he was unhappy at publishing anything without his imprimatur, and, in spite of distance, affectionately relied upon him in times of weariness and difficulty. "Wherever you are," he wrote to him, "you cannot be divided from us."¹ Froude on his part, consumed with regret at being kept far away from the field of battle, stimulated and encouraged the combatants, put them on their guard against the slightest desire for concession, and inflamed them with his own ardour. He set himself chiefly to "keep in breath" his dear master Keble, and, as he jokingly said, "to stirring his rage." "He is my fire," he added, "but I may be his poker."²

The subjects of each *Tract* were chosen by the editors according to the inspiration of the moment, as to what they deemed useful to the religious revival at which they were aiming. For this reason there continued to be much in them about the Church, her authority, her government, and the current objections to her rights; they also dealt with public prayer, the liturgy, relaxation of discipline, mortification, fasting, frequent communion, etc. Truths were vigorously affirmed and brought forward, rather than discussed and proved. There was no logical order in these leaflets, which followed one another at irregular intervals, no didactic instruction, or pretension to a complete system. It is doubtful, moreover, whether the editors would have been able to formulate such a system. They had set out on the campaign with a sense of the danger threatening the Church and of the direction in which safety should be sought. But, as Newman acknow-

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 87.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 475.

ledged later on, "they would have been very puzzled to have said what was their actual end in view; they expressed certain principles for themselves, because these were true, because they felt as if they were bound to proclaim them; . . . but, if they had had to determine the practical application of what they preached, nothing would have been more difficult for them. . . . It seemed, indeed, that they proclaimed principles at haphazard, so uncertain was the end, and so, too, did they adopt them God knows how."¹ This uncertainty was not merely confined to the fact that, in accordance with another acknowledgment of Newman's, "hardly any two persons, who took part in the Movement agreed in their view of the limit to which their general principles might religiously be carried";² it applied also, in the case of each of them, to the fact that their ideas, far from being fixed, were in a state of formation. This was true of Newman more than of any of the others. He prided himself on returning to the doctrines of the Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century and of the ancient Fathers; but at first he had only a superficial and second-hand knowledge of these. He studied them in the midst of the battle, and looked in them daily for his guidance, like a traveller who, entering an unknown country, consults his map at each stage. Had he not always felt "an instinct that his mind was journeying towards³ an end which he did not see clearly"? In the famous stanzas which he wrote when returning from Sicily, and in which he asked "the kindly light" to guide his journey, he did not "ask

¹ *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*. These lectures were delivered in London by Newman shortly after his conversion to Catholicism.

² *Apologia*.

³ *Ibid*.

to see the distant scene"—“one step,” he said, “enough for me.”

However, several fundamental doctrines concerning which his mind was quite made up, and which he immediately put in the foreground, can be discerned in the early *Tracts*. First, as a general guiding principle, he professed to return to an ideal Anglicanism which would have been that of the theologians of the seventeenth century and of the Prayer-Book interpreted in a Catholic sense, and which he linked to the primitive Christianity of the Fathers. He wished to undo what for a hundred and fifty years had been done to Protestantize the Church of England, and, on the other hand, he desired to revive certain doctrines which had been allowed to die. As for Protestantism, he disowns the word and the thing.¹ In the second place, in a reaction against the Latitudinarian tendencies of the “liberal” school, he avowed that dogma is the necessary foundation of religion; he reproved the tendency, existing even in some people of a religious temperament, to attach no importance to doctrinal differences of opinion; he complained that the clergy no longer received any theological education, and while trying to improve his own, he worked to improve that of others. He upheld also the principle of a Visible Church, instituted by God, perpetuated and governed by bishops who hold their power by Apostolic Succession, having authority to teach and to administer the sacraments. Lastly, in opposition to the Erastianism in fact or in law then dominant in Anglicanism, he proclaimed that the Church, by reason of her Divine origin, was independent of the State with which she had been united, but to which she

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 59.

should no longer be subordinate, as she had been since the Reformation—an independence considered by him so essential that he did not recoil from disestablishment, if it were necessary to secure it.

As for deducing and precisely stating the consequences of these general principles on particular points, Newman only followed the progress of his own convictions and whatever new truths the intelligence of his day appeared to him to be able to contribute. Hence, for instance, his tentative essays in regard to all that concerned the Eucharist. He had been led by Froude, before the *Tracts* began, to believe in the Real Presence; but, differing from his friend, he remained opposed to Transubstantiation. Having spoken in one of the early *Tracts* of the power which the ministers possessed “of making of bread and wine the Body and the Blood of Christ,” he was blamed by his friend, the Rev. Samuel Rickards, and stated, in reply, that he had perhaps committed an “imprudence” in opposing “the dreadfully low notions” which were current all around him with regard to the Blessed Sacrament. A little later he reproduced in *Tract* form a writing of Bishop Cosin against Transubstantiation. It was now Froude’s turn to complain. “Surely,” the latter said, “no member of the Church of England is in any danger of underrating the miracle of the Eucharist.” To justify himself Newman explained that, under colour of an attack against Transubstantiation, he had wished to accustom men’s minds to think about the subject, absolutely new to them, of the Real Presence; he intended by this means to prepare them for a *Tract* in which Keble was going to set forth high Eucharistic doctrine.¹ At

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 490; vol. ii., pp. 31, 82.

another time, not in a *Tract*, but in an article in the *British Magazine*, he took up the defence of monasticism, which Froude and he had deeply at heart. The representations which were made to him caused him to fear that he had been too daring. "I shall draw in my horns," he wrote.¹ This was not the only instance in which he believed that he ought "to draw in his horns": it was also the case with other doctrines, institutions, and practices for which he envied Catholicism, and which he would have liked to restore; but he thought it impossible as yet to go beyond the prejudices of his co-religionists.

Did Newman mean the religious Movement which he sought to stir to be a road towards Rome? Many accused him of it. He was not surprised at this. "I expect," he wrote on November 22, 1833, "to be called a Papist when my opinions are known."² But he did not believe that he deserved the reproach. If, under Froude's influence, his prejudices against Rome were softened, they had not entirely disappeared. In more than one aspect the Catholic Church, as he came to know her better, pleased his imagination and touched his heart. But his judgment remained as adverse as ever; he felt himself tempted to admire and love her, and yet constrained to condemn her. "As for personally becoming a Romanist," he wrote, "that seems more and more impossible." In the first *Tracts* attacks against the Roman Church were abundant; she is declared in them to be "incurable, malicious, cruel, pestilential, heretical, monstrous, blasphemous"; she apostatized at the Council of Trent, and it is to be feared that at that time the whole

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 112.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 490.

Roman communion became bound by a perpetual compact to the cause of Antichrist.¹ Froude found fault in his letters with these violent expressions.² Newman did not ignore the fact that such language was at the least vulgar and declamatory, but he said to himself that, after all, he thought of Romanism what he wrote of it, and that these protests were necessary to the position of his own Church, in conformity with the tradition of all its theologians, including those of the seventeenth century, and that, finally, it was a means of sheltering himself personally against the reproach of Popery. He did not think that he was acting in opposition to these sentiments by seeking to reintroduce into Anglicanism so many Catholic doctrines and practices; he saw rather in this a means of strengthening the shaken beliefs of his co-religionists. It was a remarkable fact that at a time when Catholics in England, crushed by so many centuries of persecution, seemed to have lost all hope, Newman possessed an intuition and foresight of the possible progress of Catholicism in his native country. He explained himself on this point openly in the preface to the first volume of the *Tracts*, published at the end of 1834. He there showed how those dissatisfied with the emptiness of Anglicanism were led to seek a "refuge" in Methodism and Popery, which had thus become "the foster-mothers of abandoned children." And he added: "The neglect of the daily service, the desecration of festivals, the Eucharist scantily administered, insubordination permitted in all ranks of the Church, orders and offices imperfectly developed, the want of societies for particular religious

¹ Cf. *Tracts* Nos. 3, 7, 8, 15, 20, 38, 40, 41, 48.

² E.g., *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 141.

objects, and the like deficiencies, lead the feverish mind, desirous of a vent to its feelings and a stricter rule of life, to the smaller religious communities, to prayer and Bible meetings, and ill-advised institutions and societies on the one hand; on the other, to the solemn and captivating services by which Popery gains its proselytes." It was to "repress that extension of Popery, for which the ever multiplying divisions of the religious world are too clearly preparing the way," that he endeavoured to restore to Anglicanism the truths and practices which were attracting souls to the Roman Church. Only, in this reaction, where was he to stop in order to remain always separated from Rome? This stopping-point he set himself to define in *Tracts* 38 and 40, written towards the end of 1834. In the form of a dialogue between a clergyman and a Catholic, he set forth his view in a more systematic way than he had hitherto done, and tried to fix what he called, by a name already employed before him, the *Via Media*—that is to say, the middle course to be followed by the Church of England between Rome and Protestantism. How often, in the years that were to follow, was Newman to take up again this *Via Media* on other grounds. At the time he believed that he had solidly established it, and he was full of the confidence with which it inspired him.¹

III

At the end of 1834 the first forty-six *Tracts* had been published in one volume. During the next six months twenty more appeared, and towards the middle of 1835

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 66.

some signs of exhaustion made themselves apparent. Newman, who bore the brunt of the burden, felt it somewhat, and wished to devote more time for works of greater compass. Amongst the contributors whose help he had to accept, all had not been equally successful, and he admitted that some of the smaller *Tracts* that had been published had only been stopgaps.¹ Was it not to be feared that they would weaken the general effect? Besides, was not the get-up of the *Tracts* pre-eminently useful as a cry of appeal or alarm for opening the campaign? Did not their continued publication diminish their strength? These considerations worked upon Newman's mind, and he seriously contemplated interrupting them. "The *Tracts* are defunct, or *in extremis*," he writes to Froude on August 9, 1835.² At this critical moment the accession of an influential contributor gave them a fresh impetus.

Pusey, in spite of friendship with Newman, was not among the early Tractarians. Did he fear to compromise the dignity of a Regius Professor in a war of partisans, or was he not also of opinion that they were going a little too far?³ His attitude, however, was not that of an opponent; he took an interest in the work in which his friend was engrossed, busied himself with distributing the *Tracts*, and was indignant when the authors' intentions were misrepresented. Newman joyfully observed the proofs of this sympathy, all the while wishing keenly that it would become more active. When he enumerated, in November, 1833, the "friends" of the Movement, he thought

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 137, 138.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 124.

³ I have already had occasion to observe that, in the years which had preceded the dawn of the Movement, Pusey's opinions had remained less advanced than Newman's, and especially than Froude's.

that he could reckon Pusey amongst them, but he added that it was not necessary to mention him as being on their side.¹ A little later, at the end of 1833, he secured from Pusey, who all the while protested "that he would not be one of them," a work on fasting, subsequently inserted in the *Tracts*, in which he attacked those who did not observe the fasts and days of abstinence mentioned in the Prayer-Book, especially that of Friday. In order to mark plainly the fact that he only accepted the responsibility of his own writing, and that he did not associate himself with the other contributors, Pusey required that his *Tract*, in contrast with the others, should have his initials. Shortly afterwards, in March, 1834, Newman dedicated to him the first volume of his sermons, "in affectionate acknowledgment of the blessing of his long friendship and example"; he had at first drawn up a still more eulogistic dedication, but Pusey insisted that it should be modified. "I have been learning," he wrote to Newman, "and trust, if it please God, all my life to learn of you (for through you I have learnt of our common Master), and I know not what you can learn of me."² After contributing his first *Tract*, Pusey, absorbed by study or hindered by illness, was eighteen months before publishing any others; not that his sympathy lessened; indeed, under the influence of his friendship for Newman and of the ideas which were fermenting in the ecclesiastical world, he daily drew nearer to the pioneers of the Movement. At last, in the middle of 1835, at the moment when the earlier champions were exhausted and thinking of laying down their arms, he decided in his turn to enter

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 482.

² Liddon's *Life of Pusey*, vol. i., pp. 284, 285.

the lists. He brought to Newman, to be published in *Tract* form, a study on Baptism on which he had been at work for more than a year. His aim was to re-establish the true meaning of this sacrament, which had become singularly obscured. Many members of the Anglican Church had come to view Baptism merely as a sign, and not the reality of God's regenerating action. Hence the indifference and negligence with which they administered it; they were little disturbed if the water only touched the clothing; sometimes the clergyman was satisfied with sprinkling a whole group of children from a distance.

From the importance of his position, the general esteem which he enjoyed, the dignity of his life, and the fame of his virtues, Pusey was a precious recruit to the Movement. He at once assured the continuation of the *Tracts*, but, at the same time, perceptibly modified their character. His study of Baptism was not confined to a few pages, like the preceding *Tracts*—the nature of his mind would not lend itself to this sharp and rapid method of fighting—it was a complete treatise, a little heavy, but solid and serious, which constituted three *Tracts* of about a hundred pages each.¹ Their effect has been compared to “the arrival of a battery of heavy artillery on a battle-field on which there had hitherto only been musketry skirmishes.” The *Tracts* henceforth were modelled on this new type. For the few pages, in which the writers concerned themselves less with demonstrating theses and arguing against opponents than with arousing and vigorously seizing men's minds, there were substituted lengthy and learned theological dissertations; the tone became more serious and

¹ *Tracts* Nos. 67, 68, and 69, which appeared on August 24, September 29, and October 18, 1835.

less aggressive. Pusey's sedate, calm, and serene character took the place of Newman's somewhat nervous excitement. The latter, however, was the first to approve of this change; he thought that the early *Tracts* had done their work, and that their time had ended. "As I was strongly for short *Tracts* on beginning," he wrote on October 10, 1835, "so am I for longer now."¹ Pusey gave himself up whole-heartedly to this new task. In order to stimulate and assist the studies which were henceforth to be the bases of the *Tracts*, he formed a Theological Society, which held its meetings at his house, the first of which took place on November 12, 1835. At these gatherings were read and discussed works which would afterwards constitute *Tracts* or articles in the *British Magazine*. He further decided to undertake, under his own supervision, as well as that of Keble and Newman, the publication of a *Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church before the Division of East and West, translated into English*. For a hundred and fifty years the Church of England had almost completely lost sight of the Fathers, and even held them in suspicion. The writers of the Movement were, on the contrary, bound to study them, since one of their principles was to appeal to the primitive Church. From the very first they had reprinted several extracts from them, under the title *Records of the Church*. The same idea, more developed, dominated the *Library of the Fathers*. Pusey, giving an example, set to work at once, and undertook a translation of St. Augustine's *Confessions*. Others were to follow, and it was intended to publish four each year.²

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 138.

² These publications continued more or less actively during succeeding years. Thirty-eight volumes appeared between 1838 and

"These publications," Pusey explained, "will make the thoughtful adherents of the Movement feel that the Fathers are behind them, and, with the Fathers, that ancient, undivided Church whom the Fathers represented." But it was to be feared that this might at the same time make them feel the weakness and the inconsistency of every Church dissenting from Rome. Pusey did not share this fear; he persuaded himself that if the Fathers' testimony on several points was hostile to Anglicanism, it was no less so to Popery. Newman, too, while having a more or less clear idea that this appeal to antiquity was leading them much further than they foresaw at the time, thought that he could place the writings of the Fathers in a full light without risk to his Church. "Anyhow," he said, "no harm could come of bending the crooked stick the other way, in the process of straightening it; it was impossible to break it. If there was anything in the Fathers of a startling character, it would be only for a time; it would admit of explanation; it could not lead to Rome."¹

By this activity Pusey took his place as one of the leaders of the Movement. For the public he became, indeed, by reason of his official position, its most imposing representative. Hitherto those who sought to belittle this Movement, affecting to see in it the personal enterprise of a party leader, called it *Newmanism*, or, in malice, *Newmania*. Henceforward they called it in preference *Puseyism*. Newman saw, without any jealousy, the im-

1854, due to the collaboration of Pusey, Newman, Keble, Marriott, Church, Morris, and others. After 1854 ten volumes more were published at longer intervals.

¹ *Apologia*.

portance which devolved upon a friend for whom he possessed the most absolute veneration. "I felt for Dr. Pusey," he wrote later, when calling this time to mind, "an enthusiastic admiration; I used to call him *ὁ μέγας* (the great one). His great learning, his immense diligence, his scholarlike mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion, overcame me."¹ Newman would not have his friend attacked. To some whom the Tract on Baptism had scared, he wrote: "If you knew my friend Dr. Pusey as well as I do—nay, as well as those generally who come tolerably near him—you would say, I am sure, that never was a man in this world on whom one should feel more tempted to bestow a name which belongs only to God's servants departed, the name of a saint. . . . And his being so, I shall battle for him when his treatise is attacked, and by whomsoever."² He made a habit, a congenial one, of coming to no decision without Pusey,³ who, on his part, always kept to the plan of acting only in agreement with him and Keble.⁴ Far from being piqued at the fact that the public identified the Movement with Pusey, Newman was pleased. "By joining us," he said, "Dr. Pusey at once gave to us a position and a name. Without him we should have had no chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the 'liberal' aggression. But Dr. Pusey was a Professor and Canon of Christ Church. He had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his professorship, his family connections, and his easy relations with the University

¹ *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 192.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 131.

⁴ *Life of Pusey*, vol. i., p. 425.

authorities. . . . There was henceforth a man who could be head and centre of the zealous people, in every part of the country, who were adopting the new opinions; and not only so, but there was one who furnished the Movement with a front to the world, and gained for it a recognition from other parties in the University . . . to use the common expression, a host in himself."¹ An important correction must, nevertheless, be added—that, in spite of Pusey's official importance, Newman always remained, as will afterwards be seen, the centre and the real propeller of the Movement.² Not only was he superior to his friend in the extent, the spontaneity, and the flexibility of his genius, but he knew much better how to approach people and to exert a far deeper influence over them. Pusey, by his grave austerity, compelled respect and veneration, but he held himself rather at a distance. He did not join, as Newman did, in the conversations of the Common Rooms. He led a retired life, absorbed in his works, and, in spite of a very real kindness of heart, he did not encourage affectionate familiarity with young men. One of their common friends declared that Pusey's presence weighed upon Newman himself, and checked his lighter and unrestrained mood. "I was myself," added this witness, "silenced by so awful a person."³

¹ *Apologia*.

² Sir F. Doyle has written in his *Reminiscences*, p. 148: "Certainly, in spite of the name of Puseyism having been given to the Oxford attempt at a new Catholic departure, Pusey was not the Columbus of that voyage of discovery, undertaken to find a safer haven for the Church of England."

³ *Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, p. 70.

IV

The great joy Newman felt at Pusey's accession to the Movement had a counterpoise almost immediately afterwards in a great grief—the death of the friend with whom he owned an intimacy of heart and mind more complete still, Richard Hurrell Froude. Froude had returned from the Barbadoes in the spring of 1835, still very ill, but happy at seeing his friends again. "*Fratres desideratissimi*," he wrote to Newman on landing at Bristol on May 17, "here I am; *benedictum sit nomen Dei!*"¹ On the 18th he was at Oxford. A casual witness of his arrival describes him alighting from the coach, and being greeted by his friends: "He was terribly thin, his countenance dark and wasted, but with a brilliancy of expression and grace of outline which justified all that his friends had said of him."² Ill as he was, he was still enthusiastic. On the following day, in Convocation, he took an intense interest in the incidents of the sitting, and, surrounded by his partisans, he cried "*Non placet!*" to a proposal of "liberal" origin. Compelled by his health to retire into the country, he kept up a correspondence with his friends, and took an interest in their struggles. Towards the end of the summer Newman spent several days with him. He found him in the same vivacity of mind, still having, in spite of his illness, energy for work. "It is wonderful, almost mysterious," he wrote, "that he should remain so long just afloat . . . it would seem as if he were kept alive by the uplifted hands of Moses, which is an encouragement to persevere."³ With the arrival of winter the implacable

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 106.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 106.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 138.

evil gained ground. Froude's last letter is dated January 27, 1836. On February 18 his father wrote to Newman: "His thoughts continually turn to Oxford, to yourself, and to Mr. Keble."¹ Before long the reports gave no more hope; sadness was general. "Who can refrain from tears," wrote one of Newman's sisters, "at the thought of that bright and beautiful Froude?" On the 28th all was over. Everyone felt the gap produced by the disappearance of this man, although he had been able to do so little himself. The remembrance of this rugged and vehement champion was a tender one. "No one," wrote T. Mozley, "has said more severe and cutting things to me, yet the constant impression Froude has always left on my mind is that of kindness and sweetness."² Newman's grief was profound. He lamented the fact that he had not been able to tell his friend, for a last time, all that he owed him. He willingly belittled himself in order to make him great. He took pleasure in recalling how admirably gifted he whom he mourned had been. "I can never have a greater loss," he repeated everywhere. Nevertheless, he was not cast down; he was sustained by the work to be done, and by the help of God, whom he never felt to be nearer than in these hours of grief and solitude. "After all," he added, "this life is very short, and it is a better thing to be pursuing what seems God's will than to be looking after one's own comfort. I am learning more than hitherto to live in the presence of the dead."³ As in all his great times of emotion, the feelings which filled his soul poured themselves out in verse. He had written, in 1833, a short poem of permeating and exquisite charm on the "separa-

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 171.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 172.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 170-174, 196, 197.

tion of friends." Under the blow of this "separation," sadder than all others, he added to his poem some touching verses, in which he called to mind the man who had been his "dearest friend," who "could dispel all questionings, and raise his heart to rapture, whispering all was well and turning prayer to praise."

When one thinks whither Newman, by following the path on which Froude had urged him, was to end, one question naturally suggests itself: What would have become of Froude himself had he lived? In spite of the unfavourable impression which Italian Catholicism had made upon him in 1833, the final years of his life had developed his attraction by everything Catholic, and his repulsion by all that was Protestant. He used to speak only with anger of the false ideas spread by "that odious Protestantism"; he wrote to Newman that he "hated the Reformation and the Reformers," and to Keble, "You will be shocked if I tell you that I am becoming every day a less and less loyal son of the Reformation." He blamed his friends' attacks upon the Roman Church, and there appeared in his words more than one sign of doubt as to the soundness of the *Via Media*. At the same time he followed the counsels of Evangelical perfection with greater fervour, practising self-abnegation, fasting, penitence, and prayer, and used regularly to repeat the Offices of the Roman Breviary. By severe self-scrutiny he made day by day a note of the results of the discipline to which he submitted his soul. This path, courageously followed, was often grievous to him. There were times when, from lack of direction, he was troubled, wounded, and almost discouraged.¹ An

¹ Froude's *Remains*, *passim*.

account has been given that in 1835—probably under the burden of these secret anxieties—he called without warning on Wiseman, whom he had known in Rome, and who was at that time beginning his apostolate in England. What passed between them? Wiseman has never revealed it. A short time after Froude was no more. It would be rash and idle to seek to penetrate further into a secret which death has sealed. Let it only be noted that the Catholic influence wielded by Froude was prolonged after his death. In accordance with his last wishes, each of his friends had been invited to choose, as a souvenir, one of his books. Newman had at first fixed his choice on a work of Anglican theology; when told that this work was already taken, he was looking through the shelves of the library, with some embarrassment, when a friend said to him, showing a book, "Take this one." It was the Roman Breviary which Hurrell had used. "I took it," Newman related later on, when he had become a Catholic, "I studied it, and, since that day, I have had it on my table, and I use it constantly."¹ This incident exerted a considerable influence upon his inward growth and proclivity to Catholicism. In later years, when he stated that the month of March, 1836, marked an epoch in his life, he noted, among the events which had then contributed to "open before him a new scene," the fact of his acquaintance with the Breviary and the habit he had acquired of reciting it.²

¹ *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 177.

V

The *Tracts* so far have been the main subject of discussion, for it was through them that the Tractarian Movement first arose. It would, however, be inaccurate to suppose no other method of action could have been adopted. Newman and his friends did not merely aim at prominently putting forward doctrinal theses: they also wished to influence men's conduct. They set themselves to give men's minds a more correct and elevated idea of religion, but, none the less, held religion to be a living thing, showing itself in actions and virtues, and in progress towards holiness. They were apostles as much as or more than teachers. In this also Newman was the most active.

He had continued to be Vicar of St. Mary's, and, far from the *Tracts* making him neglect his pastoral duties, he saw in their fulfilment the most effectual means of giving to the Movement its practical complement. His first care was to lift the parochial worship out of the lethargy into which it had fallen. Not that he thought it possible to make sweeping changes in a moment; his letters show his anxiety as to how each innovation would be received. He began by adding to the Sunday Service others on Wednesday evenings and on certain Saints' Days. In 1834 he went a step further, and re-established the daily service ordered by the Prayer-Book, which had fallen into disuse; expecting only a very small congregation, he officiated in the sanctuary, which was separated from the rest of the church by a stone barrier, and thus formed, as it were, a small chapel.¹ It was far more important to make Holy Communion more frequent. That there was

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 50-54.

much to be done in this respect may be judged by the fact that Newman, pious as he was, had waited three months after his ordination before celebrating and administering Communion. It had been Froude's ardent desire, during the last years of his life, to alter this state of affairs. In the letters he wrote from Barbadoes he urged his friends to stand out against the thoroughly Protestant notion which had given preaching precedence of the Eucharist. It ought to be the reverse, he said. "Preaching and reading the Scriptures is what a layman can do as well as a clergyman. And it is no wonder the people should forget the difference between ordained and unordained persons, when those who are ordained do nothing for them, but what they could have done just as well without Ordination." He also recommended placing the pulpit at the west end of the church in such a manner as not to hide the altar, "which is more sacred than the Holy of Holies was in the Jewish Temple." He insisted that the faithful should have the opportunity of communicating as often as possible; he would have liked it to have been every day, or at least once a week. To those who, owing to a contrary custom, demurred, he declared that such customs were detestable, and that no notice ought to be taken of them.¹ Newman would have liked to do what Froude asked, but met with difficulties. "It is now a year," he wrote on June 21, 1834, "since I have been anxious to begin a weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper, but as yet I have not moved a step."² It was not until 1837 that he considered it possible to have a celebration every Sunday morning at seven o'clock.³

¹ Froude's *Remains*.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 50.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 227.

These developments of worship would have been but vain ceremonies had not a serious and fervent piety first been awakened in people's hearts. This revival was essentially due to Newman's sermons. From 1828, when he began them in St. Mary's, their fame had gone on increasing. They followed one another regularly, from Sunday to Sunday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and had become one of the events of the intellectual life of Oxford. Before the appointed hour the church was filled. The congregation consisted less of the people of the parish than of University students, although the time was very inconvenient, since it was their dinner-hour. Eyewitnesses recall the scene. On the left of the pulpit a jet of gas half-lowered so as not to dazzle the preacher; the hour having come, the latter leaves the sacristy, thin, pale, and bent, with large eyes whose look seems to pierce through the externals of men and things: one would have said an apparition which, in the semi-darkness of falling day, gently goes down the transepts, ascends the pulpit; and then, in the midst of a religious silence, a voice is raised, with a unique accent, sweet and musical, which penetrates to the lowest depths of men's souls, and bears them, as if by a supernatural power, into the world of invisible things.

And yet the speaker has none of the usual signs of eloquence. Entirely different from the great French preachers, it has been said of him that he was as far as anything can be in a great preacher from an orator. He himself wrote in 1834: "I am quite fluent, although I never shall be eloquent."¹ There is no gesture; following the custom of the English pulpit at that time, he reads his

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 50.

sermons; his eyes remain fixed on his manuscript; not once does he look at his congregation; his arms are motionless, his hands hidden; at most for a moment, he turns his head a little. He begins in a clear and quiet voice, and goes on without inflexion. Each paragraph is uttered quickly, and followed by a short pause, so as to leave time to think over it. No brilliancy of intonation, nor outpouring of feelings, no cry of passion. This reserve seems to betray the scruples of a man who has too great a respect for the independence of men's consciences, and has thought too much of the seriousness of religion, to wish to work upon his hearers by oratorical surprises. He holds that nothing external should come between God and the soul. The effort he makes to keep himself in check when a deeper emotion takes possession of him gives to his utterance a vibration which his calm demeanour makes all the more striking. Sometimes he leaves off for some moments, during which the congregation remains in suspense; then, in more serious and solemn tones, he pronounces one or two phrases into which he puts, as it were, a concentrated force. According to an eyewitness, the sounds which are heard at these moments issuing from his lips seem like something more than his own voice.¹ To the impression produced by this delivery was added the very appearance of the preacher, together with something or other which, as upon the face of Moses, revealed intercourse with God. "Upon him," Gladstone, then a young man and one of his hearers, said, "there was a stamp and a seal."

The structure of the sermon is in harmony with its delivery, and quite different from the customary rhetoric

¹ Article in the *Dublin Review*, April, 1869.

of the pulpit. As a general rule, preachers used to make an effort to be forcible; their utterance had in it something artificial and ceremonious; one would have said that they considered themselves bound only to approach their subject with oratorical circumlocutions, and to expand it with a certain affectation. Newman's manner of speech has, on the contrary, the simplicity and naturalness of a man who is dealing in conversation or by letter with a serious topic; he goes straight to the point; there is nothing conventional, all is natural and real; no declamation or affected unctio. The hearer is at first almost disappointed that the orator has not put himself to greater pains in order to address him, but he soon feels the persuasive force and the charm of this simplicity. Moreover, while free from all literary artifice, the language is correct, elegant, supple, and delicate, full of vigour and grace, sometimes possessing a flavour of poetry or of pathos all the more telling because more subdued.

The subject is rather practical than technical. Newman takes for granted the great dogmatic truths, and sets himself to show the line of conduct to be followed in order to reduce them to practice. He thought it unsuitable to bring into the pulpit the theological controversies he carried on so ardently elsewhere, and a frequent attendant would have listened to him for a long while before hearing any mention of Apostolic Succession or other doctrines discussed in the *Tracts*. His sermons tended none the less to the progress of the doctrines he sought to inculcate upon his Church, for the principles preached implied them, and were their practical effect and living expression. Those whom they influenced acquired an idea of religion which made it easy and natural for them to accept the whole Trac-

tarian system. Dean Church, one of those most familiar with the period, and a good judge, has written: "Without his sermons the Movement would never have been developed, or, at least, it would not have been what it has been."¹

Newman differed from the French preachers, who delight in developing general and abstract ideas, and more readily devoted himself to a particular aspect, to a limited and concrete subject.² Instead of large general surveys, he preferred precise and deep analysis, drawn from direct and personal observation, rather than from imagination incited by the common topics of religious literature. He looked around him at the men of his own time and country, and studied them himself in the midst of severe trials. No psychological novelist penetrated more deeply into the depths of the human conscience, its complexities, its subtleties, its sophisms, its contradictions and weaknesses. Such was his perspicacity that it judged types of mind, states of life, varieties of temptation, which seemed to be most removed from him. In his pictures of evil we never find those rather declamatory exaggerations which are too frequent in the pulpit; if he conceals nothing, he never forces the note, but keeps within due measure. There is in him nothing of the malice of the satirist; one feels, on the contrary, that behind the moralist's severity there is a sympathizing and tender charity. The fact is that this analysis is not for him an intellectual play or the satisfaction of a sort of

¹ *The Oxford Movement*, p. 129.

² This difference from French preaching, pointed out by Dean Church (*Occasional Papers*, vol. ii.), has been made clear by the Abbé Brémond in an interesting article on "Newman's Sermons" (*Études Religieuses* for August 5, 1897).

curiosity. His chief and only aim is to lead those who listen to him to look into themselves, to question themselves, to criticize themselves; he wants to make them anxious about their own souls. The word of the preacher sounds in their ears like the echo of an awakening conscience. In the presence of generalities they would have been able to steal away while persuading themselves that they had not been aimed at; they could not do this when they found in the sermon all the details of their particular condition, and even their innermost thoughts. Newman had, in fact, that extraordinary gift which makes each hearer believe that he is speaking especially to him, as portraits that seem to look at every individual person in the room. "I believe," a witness has said, "no young man ever heard him preach without fancying that someone had been betraying his own history, and the sermon was aimed specially at him."¹ Newman not only possessed the gift of penetrating human consciences: he had more than others the intuition and, as it were, the abiding consciousness of Divine truths. One feels that he sees the invisible world, that that world with its infinite depths is, for him, the most real of worlds, and he imparts the feeling of this reality to minds which had hitherto been strangers to it; he carries them away with him into regions new to them, places them face to face with mysteries at once formidable and consoling, and makes them understand the necessity of ordering their lives each day in accordance with these eternal and higher verities.

Newman selected his subjects as they suited the needs of his time and his country. He saw around him in the

¹ This witness was J. A. Froude, one of Hurrell's brothers (*The Nemesis of Faith*, p. 144).

Church of England religious thought debased, narrowed, frozen, and withered. His preaching was a persevering effort to uplift, extend, and, in some degree, reanimate it. He was pitiless towards superficial and mediocre piety, composed of meaningless customs, of empty formalities, and banal unctuousness. He did not admit that one should "minimize" dogma or expurgate the Gospel in order to make them more acceptable to the world. Here is the portrait he drew of those of his fellow-countrymen, very numerous at that time, who imagined themselves Christians because they led a decent and regular life: "There are some very respectable persons whose religion is dry and cold. Their heart and their thought have never crossed the threshold of the world to come. A good robust intellect, regular habits, no violence in their passions, an imagination too restful to lead them to disquieting ideas—nothing is there in them which is not of this world: no religious difficulty for them, no mystery in Scripture, nothing which replies to the secret needs of their heart."¹ He likes to denounce the untruthfulness of conventional, courteous, easygoing religion, which "has no true fear of God, no fervent zeal for His honour, no deep hatred of sin, no horror at the sight of sinners, no indignation and compassion at the blasphemies of heretics, no jealous adherence to doctrinal truth . . . no loyalty to the Holy Apostolic Church . . . in a word, no seriousness, and therefore is neither hot nor cold, but (in Scripture language) lukewarm." And, to give a more striking form to his thought, he adds "that it would be a gain to this country were it vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion,

¹ *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, vol. iv., sermon ix.

than at present it shows itself to be. Not, of course, that I think the tempers of mind herein implied desirable, which would be an evident absurdity; but I think them infinitely more desirable and more promising than a heathen obduracy, and a cold, self-sufficient, self-wise tranquillity. . . . Miserable as were the superstitions of the Dark Ages, revolting as are the tortures now in use among the heathen of the East, better, far better, is it to torture the body all one's days, and to make this life a hell upon earth, than to remain in a brief tranquillity here, till the pit at length opens under us, and awakens us to an eternal fruitless consciousness and remorse."¹

Of this somewhat Pharisaical tranquillity, so general at that time, Newman never wearied of showing the peril. "To be at ease is to be unsafe," he used to say.² He has abrupt questions to rouse those who are asleep or those who are satisfied, to cause them to reflect and to make them uneasy. "How are we the better of being members of the Christian Church?" he asks at the beginning of one of his sermons. "I ask, then, how are we the better for being Christ's disciples? What reason have we for thinking that our lives are very different from what they would have been if we had been heathens?"³ The same question recurred in a famous sermon, which deeply stirred his contemporaries, entitled *The Ventures of Faith*. "Of a truth I am afraid," he added, "that the majority of men called Christians would go on exactly the same if they were persuaded that Christianity is a myth. When young, they indulge their lusts; as time goes on, if their business

¹ *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, vol. i., sermon xxiv.

² Sermon on *The Secret Faults*, vol. i.

³ Sermon on *The Spiritual Mind*, vol. i.

affairs have prospered, they marry, settle down, and, their interest coinciding with their duty, they begin to have a zeal against vice and error. . . . Honourable conduct, doubtless, only I say that it has nothing to do with religion. Nothing in those who adopt it which is a consequence of religious principles; they risk, they sacrifice nothing on the faith of Jesus Christ's word."¹ Newman had no fear of shocking English feeling on a still more delicate topic, in preaching mortification and detachment, which were not only forgotten, but seemed absurd and contemptible. He maintained that *the comforts of life* are the usual cause of lack of the love of God, and that, because she had repudiated asceticism, the Anglican Church was no longer a living Church. He asserted that "Christianity is not compatible with that eager immersion in external pursuits which seems to be the special temptation of the English spirit and temperament." In the very face of a comfortable clergy, enjoying wealth, worldly esteem, and political favour, and of a nation boasting that its prosperity was a token of Divine approbation, he boldly doubted such phenomena being a sign of God's blessing. He recalled the law of humility and of hardship written throughout the Gospel; the promise made by our Saviour and His Apostles to Christians, that they should suffer in this world; and it seemed to him that there was a special reason to tremble when this promise was not being realized. Those who led a perfectly calm and happy life, on good terms with the world, should question the compatibility of their conduct with revealed truth. The Church that has no share in affliction, in trouble, distress, injustice, calumny, was out of her right path. Because

¹ *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, vol. iv.

of their disobedience Christians have prospered in this world, and have lost "the privilege of adversity" which Christ had assured to them. "With the Hebrews," Newman added, "temporal happiness was a reward from God, a proof that God was satisfied. Who knows if matters are not turning out just the reverse with us? When the Jews saw that they were in adversity, they concluded that God wished to punish them; we, on the other hand, when we abound in all the delights of this world, should it not be that God is chastising us?"¹

Novel though this teaching sounded in English ears, its influence was none the less deep and widespread. Contemporary witnesses are unanimous in describing the fascinating attraction of the preacher and the marvellous moral authority he exerted. Those who, drawn by curiosity, came once to hear him, never failed to come again, and thus many were moved, transformed, and conquered. One witness affirms "that one of these sermons has been, for many, one of the principal influences that have governed their life." Even those who remained opposed to Newman's dogmatic conclusions did not, for that reason, escape his moral influence. They admitted that they had been imbued with his religious spirit, and that to him "they owed their spiritual life." Of the extraordinary effect produced by these sermons there is, moreover, a remarkable sign—the memory of them, so deep and so vivid, in the minds of all those who had heard them, and who, after the lapse of so many years, could not speak of them without great emotion. All, whatever may have been their later relations with Newman, whatever chasms may have opened between them and him, were stirred

¹ *Parochial Sermons, passim*, especially vol. v.

when they called to mind the echoes of St. Mary's pulpit, and assert "that they have never heard a word that can be compared to that one." How much deeper still is the emotion of that memory in the hearts of those who have followed the master to the end, who have reached, with him, or after him, the fulness of Catholic truth, and for whom this preaching has been the first call of grace, the first light on the path of conversion! They compare their feelings with those of the children of Israel when, having gained possession of the land "flowing with milk and honey," they called to mind those mornings in the wilderness when, in the light of the dawn kindling the horizon, they went forth from the camp to gather provision of manna for the day.¹

The influence of these sermons was not limited to the congregation at St. Mary's. After much hesitation, and in spite of his first repugnance, Newman decided to publish them. The first volume appeared in March, 1834. Its success was immediate and very pronounced. According to the testimony of the publishers, "this volume put all other sermons out of the market, just as *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering* put all other novels."² The succeeding volumes were published at short intervals.³ From all parts of England men joyfully hailed the needful sus-

¹ Cf. the Recollections of Professor Shairp and of Sir F. Doyle, quoted by Church (*The Oxford Movement*, pp. 141, 143); the evidence collected by the editor of *The Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 219; those which Abbott has brought together in his book (although it is so ill-disposed), *The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman*; lastly, an article published in the *Dublin Review*, April, 1869, on *Newman's Parochial Sermons*. See also Hutton's *Cardinal Newman*, p. 102.

² Mozley's *Reminiscences*, vol. i., p. 316.

³ The whole of Newman's sermons were to form twelve volumes.

tenance for which they craved, and which no one had yet offered them. The sermons gained as many adherents to the Movement as the *Tracts*, and even exerted a deeper influence. Subsequent historians have estimated their value even better than contemporaries could do at the moment. "These sermons," one of them has said, "have done more, perhaps, than any one thing to mould and quicken and brace the religious temper of our time. . . . They have altered the whole manner of feeling towards religious subjects."¹ The author, without searching for literary fame, showed himself in these publications, by the consent of all critics, one of the first writers in the English language,² and the example thus set up has completely transformed English preaching. Indeed, to-day Newman's sermons are reprinted in England, as those of Bossuet and Bourdaloue are in France. If they seem less fresh than on their delivery, it is because their very success has made prevalent in the religious world many of the modes of thought and action which they had endeavoured to restore. Yet they are far from being old or threadbare, and, what is a unique fact with regard to the teaching of an Anglican clergyman, Catholics do not find less to learn from them than do the members of the Church of England.

Newman doubtless was not alone amongst the Tractarians in making use of the pulpit, though his sermons only had such fame and influence. Pusey, for instance, preached from time to time, either on taking his friend Newman's

¹ Dean Church's essay, published first in 1869 in the *Saturday Review*, and reproduced in his *Occasional Papers*, vol. ii., p. 441.

² When someone asked Mr. Gladstone, towards the end of his life, who had been, in his time, the leading English prose writers, he mentioned Cardinal Newman and Ruskin.

place at St. Mary's, or on some other special occasion. But this was contingent on his being a professor, not a pastor of a parish; and then, if his seriousness, depth of convictions, and renown for character, gave a real authority to his word, it, notwithstanding, lacked power of attraction. His discourses were usually dull and a little burdensome; people found them long and, to put it plainly, tedious. In short, in the pulpit as well as in the *Tracts*, Newman was indisputably the leader. He, indeed, was truly unique; it was undoubtedly he who thus gave to religious reform its voice—that voice which spoke with an accent so new and so penetrating that it went to the heart of the younger generation. Nevertheless, far from ascribing to himself the merit of this success, he found in it the proof of a higher intervention, and acknowledged in it the presence of “an invisible Agitator.” “I do verily believe,” he added, “a spirit is working abroad at present, and we are but blind tools, not knowing whither we are going. I mean a flame seems arising in so many places as to show no mortal incendiary is at work.”¹

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 92, 112.

CHAPTER III

THE APOGEE OF THE MOVEMENT

(1836—1839)

I. Controversies excited by Dr. Hampden's appointment—Attacks on the Tractarians—Newman and Romanism. II. Nicholas Wiseman—His early years in Rome—How he was led to interest himself in the religious situation in England—His lectures in London in 1835-36—Their effect. III. Newman deems it expedient to publish the *Via Media* against Romanism—Some of the *Tracts* are suspected of Popery—Publication of Froude's *Remains*—Protestant irritation—The Bishop of Oxford's unexpected censure of the *Tracts*—After negotiations, an understanding is reached between the Bishop and Newman—First signs of Episcopal hostility. IV. Wiseman watches the Movement from Rome—His acquaintance with English travellers, among others Gladstone and Macaulay. V. The Movement grows—Its principal adherents—Stanley, though a pupil of Arnold's, inclines to follow Newman—W. G. Ward: his antecedents, progress, and character—His discussions with Tait—Change in the moral condition of the University undergraduates—Friendship between Pusey and Newman—Newman continues to be the real leader of the Movement—*Credo in Newmanum*. VI. Newman's first doubt about Anglicanism is excited by the history of the Monophysites and Donatists—He confides in two of his friends—Arguments by which he tries to reassure himself—His sermon on "The Divine Calls"—The doubt is removed, though not without leaving some traces behind.

I

OXFORD, or, more truly, the University in which all the life of Oxford was centred, existed in the midst of modern England as a city of another age and of a character of its own. It was not very populous, though of considerable

size. Its agitations, its struggles, though shut up within the precincts of its old and picturesque colleges and scarcely dealing with other than scholastic or theological subjects, resounded none the less throughout the whole country. The growing importance of the Tractarians led them to play a more prominent part in these struggles. Thus they took an active part, in 1836, in connection with a matter which greatly agitated the University—the Hampden controversy. The Chair of Regius Professor of Theology had become vacant, and the Government had appointed Dr. Hampden, who was suspected of anti-dogmatic Latitudinarianism. Those members of the University who had suspected the orthodoxy of his teaching felt great anxiety, and a very animated struggle was entered upon between the adversaries and the defenders of the new Professor. Of all the writings directed against him, none had so much effect as a pamphlet of Newman's.¹ The Tractarians were, it is true, not alone in protesting; they were supported by the Evangelicals; but, by their enthusiasm as well as their ability, the former were in the front rank. Accordingly it was especially against them that the other camp displayed its hostility. Their most formidable antagonist was Thomas Arnold, Head Master of Rugby School.² From the beginning he had looked upon the Movement with displeasure. Not only did he find in it doctrines absolutely opposed to his own, but, further, had been very disappointed at seeing, at the moment when he thought that he had captured the pick of the youth of the country, a rival influence, likely to thwart and excel his own, grow-

¹ *Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements.*

² *On Arnold*, see above, p. 9.

ing up in Oxford. His antipathy was expressed without reserve both in his conversation and in his correspondence.¹ It was not, therefore, surprising that he seized the opportunity of the Hampden case to attack the Newmanites; he published against them, in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1836, under the title of *The Oxford Malignants*, an indictment of extreme violence and bitterness, denouncing Newman and his friends as a "small band of obscure fanatics." He dubbed them "idolaters, worse than Roman Catholics"; in his eyes their attack against the new Professor "did not bear the stamp of an error, but of moral wickedness."

Hampden's opponents procured the submission of the question to the Convocation of all the graduates of the University. After a first attempt, which failed before the veto of the Proctors,² a motion expressing the disapproval of the University was carried on May 5, 1836,

¹ *Life and Correspondence of T. Arnold*, by Stanley, vol. i., *passim*. On October 23, 1833, Arnold wrote to a friend of the annoyance which the "extravagances" at Oxford were causing him, and he asked what was going to become of the Church "if the clergy begin to exhibit an aggravation of the worst superstitions of the Roman Catholics, only stripped of that consistency which stamps even the errors of the Romish system with something of a character of greatness." He seized every opportunity to declare that the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession was a "pernicious superstition," and to insist contemptuously on the inconsistencies in the Tractarian teaching. "It is," he said, "the superstition of the priesthood without its power, the form of Episcopal government without its substance." One of Arnold's friends, Baron Bunsen, a Prussian diplomatist, was inspired with a similar idea, when about the same date he blamed that school for desiring to introduce into England "Popery without authority, Protestantism without liberty, Catholicism without universality, and Evangelism without spirituality." This remark is quoted by Newman in a letter to Froude (*Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 143).

² The Proctors, whose particular duties were those of academical police, possessed a right of veto in the deliberations of Convocation.

by 330 votes against 94.¹ It was a success for the Tractarians who had led the campaign; their prestige and their influence with religious men who dreaded Latitudinarianism was thereby increased. Pusey duly noted and rejoiced in this victory.² But, at the same time, they were exposed to formidable attacks. Certain onlookers, from this moment, felt a presentiment that the victory was not without peril for the conquerors, and that the weapon with which the latter had struck the suspected Professor would one day be turned against themselves. During the sitting of Convocation one of Hampden's supporters said to Manning, on seeing Newman pass by, "Before long we shall be summoned here to vote against Neander."³

The principal weapon of Hampden's friends against the Tractarians had been the accusation of Romanism; some, in order more certainly to alarm the common people, behaved in rather a churlish way. Such was a Dr. Dickinson, later on a bishop, who pretended to give "the true translation" of a supposed pastoral letter in which the Pope congratulated the authors of the Movement.⁴ Pusey

¹ Not being able to depose the new Professor from the Chair, in which he had been placed by Royal nomination, Convocation decided that he should be deprived of the right, hitherto attached to his duties, of taking part in the appointment of select preachers summoned to preach before the University, and of giving his advice in the case in which a preacher should be brought before the Chancellor on a matter of doctrine.

² Letter to a friend in Germany, March 6, 1837 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. ii.).

³ This fashion of Grecizing Newman's name was at that time fairly usual in conversations at Oxford. The remark which I have just quoted has been recalled by Manning himself (*England and Christendom*, Introduction, p. 47). See another version of the same remark in Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. i., pp. 114, 115.

⁴ *A Pastoral Epistle from His Holiness the Pope to Some Members of the University of Oxford, faithfully translated from the Original Latin.*

sternly protested against this kind of polemics.¹ It was in the utmost sincerity that the Tractarians considered themselves slandered when they were accused of tending towards Rome. Since the first *Tracts*, in which Newman had occasionally hurled more than one shaft against the Roman Church,² he had further emphasized his opposition. In 1835 he was led, with one of his friends, into a correspondence with a French priest, the Abbé Jager, upon the respective claims of Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, which was published at intervals in a Parisian journal, *L'Univers*.³ During the same period he dealt with this subject in the Theological Lectures which he delivered in Adam de Brome's chapel, attached to St. Mary's Church. This kind of preliminary study led him to announce, towards the end of 1835, with the warm approval of Pusey and of Keble, that the time had come to face and fully discuss the Roman question in the *Tracts*.⁴ Such was the object of *Tract* 71, which appeared on January 1, 1836, some weeks before Hampden's nomination. Shortly afterwards, in March and April, 1836, in the very midst of the controversy about the appointment, he published in the *British Magazine* a dialogue entitled *Home Thoughts, Abroad*, in which he put in opposition an Anglican and a Roman Catholic.

In truth, even in these writings in which he flattered

¹ *An Earnest Remonstrance to the Author of the Pope's Pastoral Letter.*

² See above, p. 79.

³ The letters thus exchanged, after having been published in *L'Univers*, were, in 1836, combined in a volume by the Abbé Jager under the title *Le Protestantisme aux prises avec la Doctrine Catholique ou Controverses avec plusieurs Ministres Anglicans, Membres de l'Université d'Oxford.*

⁴ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 136, 138, 143, 153.

himself that he gave pledges of his fidelity to the Church of England, and asserted the reasons for her separation from Rome, Newman did not escape the criticisms and the suspicions of his adversaries. He refused, indeed, to use, in order to justify this separation, the arguments which had hitherto been current amongst his co-religionists, and which, in his eyes, committed the error of attacking the foundation of every Church. He recognized that on many points the Roman Church was right in her opposition to Protestantism; he gave her credit for having kept the deposit of certain truths, and for possessing one of the "notes" of the true Church, that of Catholicity, better than the Church of England. In order to discover the points of separation it was necessary to come to the novelties which he accused Rome of having added to the primitive creed, and which had caused her to lose another "note," that of antiquity or apostolicity. It was this "Roman corruption," as he called it, and not the fundamental teaching of the Church of Rome, which forbade his adherence. Yet he did not deny that his Church too had erred; she had her corruption, a Protestant one, from which she was bound to free herself, and thus she would be drawn nearer to the Roman Church on several points. Such language sounded ill to the "liberals" and the Evangelicals. Amongst High Churchmen themselves, several thought that their author showed himself too pessimistic concerning the state of his Church, and that he made too great concessions to the Church of Rome. "You must let me," Rose wrote to him, "not *endure*, but *love*—and warmly and passionately love—my Mother Church."¹

¹ Burgon's *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, vol. i., p. 218.

II

In *Tract 71* Newman pointed out, amongst the reasons which led him to engage in controversy with "the Romanists," a kind of awakening of the latter, which was taking place upon the flanks of Anglicanism, and leading the Romanists to vaunt of their success and to taunt the partisans of the Established Church with their inability to argue against them. This awakening was quite new. I have already alluded to the pitch of depression to which a long existence as pariahs had reduced English Catholics at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Emancipation Act of 1829 did not appear at first to relieve them of this depression. It had not been their own work, or the fruit of their efforts, but had been brought about from outside by O'Connell, the Irish leader, and with the wholly political help of the Whigs. One would have said that they had left the catacombs, and that the full daylight dazzled them. They remained timid and distrustful. They were more embarrassed by their position than eager to make use of the political rights which had been restored to them. One of their bishops, far from urging them to enter on the public career which had been opened out to them, showed that he was especially uneasy at the dangers their faith might incur through its means.¹ That Catholicism, in the purely religious domain, should, thanks to this new liberty, recover something of the ground it had lost in England was a thought which entered the minds of hardly any of the old Catholics; they had been too long unaccustomed to hope. No breath of the wind that was distending the sails of Catholicism in Germany, and

¹ Pastoral Letter written on January 1, 1830, by Bishop Bramston.

especially in France, seemed to reach them. Still less had they the least idea that their cause would have anything to gain from the Movement which was going on amongst certain Oxford clergymen; they knew nothing of this Movement, or distrusted it, as they did with everything Anglican. Whence, then, came the awakening of Romanism which Newman pointed out with anxiety in January, 1836?

A Catholic, a priest, had come on the scene, sufficiently English to understand his fellow-countrymen, and to make himself understood by them, and yet, by his personal character, sufficiently free from the mental habits of English Catholics to be without their timidity or short-sighted views: his name was Nicholas Wiseman.¹ He was born at Seville, in 1802, of an Irish family settled in Spain for business purposes. Having lost his father at the age of three, he was brought to England by his mother, and sent shortly afterwards to the Catholic College of Ushaw, founded in 1793, after the suppression of the College at Douai, where for so long the sons of English Catholics had been brought up. It was doubtless while passing thus the first years of his youth on English soil, and in the midst of English companions, that Wiseman acquired what caused his Protestant fellow-countrymen to say in later years that, "after all, he was really an Englishman." Ushaw College had inherited from Douai the tradition of that austere education which, for more than two centuries, had set itself the task of strengthening young souls in their faith, of equipping them in view of inevitable persecution, but which left them too self-centred, distrustful of a

¹ Wiseman's Life has been narrated in Mr. Wilfrid Ward's excellent work, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*.

hostile public, and more ready to endure than to undertake. It is doubtful whether Wiseman, had he lived under the influences which prevailed in the College, would have freed himself from the passive and timid inactivity of his co-religionists. Providence ordered otherwise. In 1818, at the reopening of the English College at Rome, he was one of the first set of pupils who were sent to it from England. There he pursued his ecclesiastical studies, was made a Doctor of Theology in 1824, and ordained priest in 1825. No one has understood and tasted better than he that charm which Rome exercises, which cultured minds then felt so keenly, and which the alterations, so barbarously and systematically carried on, to-day tend to destroy. At the time of his arrival the Papal city, after the terrible crises of the Revolution and of the Imperial conquest, was rejoicing in her new-found peace and security. She was allowing herself to live quietly and somewhat softly, without dreaming of the dangers of the future, happy at seeing artists and men of thought and learning return within her walls, proud of the external prestige which was now restored to the Holy See, lately so rudely humiliated and ill-treated, and of the signs of Catholic revival which were evident in so many places, notably in Germany and France. In this serene and illuminating atmosphere Wiseman's naturally romantic imagination, but recently held in check in the stern and misty world of Ushaw, expanded freely; it opened itself to all those picturesque, artistic, archæological, and religious inquiries which Rome fostered. The young priest began by devoting himself more particularly to Oriental and Biblical studies. Some publications brought him into prominence, and caused him to be nominated, in 1827,

when but twenty-five years old, as Vice-Rector, then, in the following year, Rector, of the English College.

Hitherto England seemed to hold but a secondary place in Wiseman's life. At the Pope's request, he delivered, in a church in the Corso, sermons intended for the English residents, and his position as Rector caused his fellow-countrymen, who sought other information than that given by the *ciceroni* of the hotels, to visit him. Yet this did not withdraw him from his chiefly Roman life. A first appeal came to him from Lord Spencer's youngest son, who had become a Catholic in 1830, and was spending two years at the English College in Rome to prepare himself for Holy Orders.¹ Born in 1799, an Etonian and a Cambridge man, George Spencer's family had guided him to enter the ministry, and gave him a country living at the age of twenty-three. After some years of devoted work he had been led to the Catholic faith solely by the inner workings of a strict conscience and of a pious mind. No external influence had determined his conversion. He was unacquainted with the men who were to call forth the Oxford Movement. He was ordained to the priesthood, and joined the Passionist congregation. His one thought was the conversion of England, which, he held, could be brought about solely by prayer, and his whole life's work was to propagate a crusade for that object. During his stay at the English College he had been able to appreciate the high worth of the young Rector, his junior by two

¹ Ever since the beginning of the century there had always been a certain number of conversions, but they were not numerous, and were isolated and hardly noticed. That of Spencer and Ambrose de Lisle, a wealthy Leicestershire gentleman, which took place the year before, had become rather better known than the others by reason of the social position of the converts.

years, and to his regret he saw him employing his talents in the study of Oriental manuscripts. One day he could not refrain from telling him of this, and pointed out to him a more practical and efficacious work; this would be, he said, "to take up with what suited a priest on the English mission as it then was."¹ Wiseman, who highly valued Spencer's saintly character, and augured great things of him, took his advice to heart. In the following years he seemed more interested in English affairs than in the past, so as thereby to further Catholic progress.

It was not, however, the appeal of a convert, but a conversation with two English clergymen, which influenced in a decisive manner the direction in which Wiseman's life had set. I have already narrated how, in the beginning of 1833, he had received Newman's and Froude's visit,² and how he had been struck by their Catholic turn of mind. It was a revelation, and unexpected hope opened out before him. "From the day of Newman and Froude's visit to me," he wrote later on, "never for an instant did I waver in my conviction that a new era had commenced in England . . . to this grand object I devoted myself . . . the favourite studies of former years were abandoned for the pursuit of this aim alone."³ Henceforward, indeed, he had his eyes fixed on England. He followed the campaign of the *Tracts* with eager interest. Not that he foresaw as a consequence of that campaign numerous conversions to Catholicism. That dream of a Catholic England, which haunted Spencer's pious imagination, appeared to him Utopian. All that he hoped for—but to him it seemed a great matter—was the "deprotestantiza-

¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 101.

² See above, p. 51.

³ In 1847.

tion " of the Established Church and of the English mind. Events which were happening, or about to happen, seemed to him likely to result in new opportunities, and therefore in new duties, for his Catholic fellow-countrymen. Well might he repeat Newman's words uttered during his call on him : " I have a work to do in England." Convinced that, in order to accomplish it, he must first of all see men and things on the spot, he decided, towards the end of 1835, to stay there for some months.

Wiseman arrived in England in September, 1835. He was eager for the work he wished to undertake. In his journey through Paris he was able to judge the astonishing success with which, in surroundings almost as hostile towards Catholicism as those of a Protestant land, his friend Lacordaire had just started his *Conférences* at Notre Dame ; and his confidence and his ardour were thereby increased. And yet his first observation of the state of mind of English Catholics, of the timid and sullen isolation in which they were confined, of their lack of preparation for all public action, would have had the effect of discouraging anyone else. " Their ' shackles,' " he wrote, " had been removed, but not the numbness and cramp which they had produced."¹ It would not have occurred to them to appeal openly to English opinion, and to its good sense, its clear-sightedness, its loyalty, by a sincere statement of a religious faith which hitherto it had only known in a distorted form. That procedure presupposed a freedom of conduct, a fearlessness, a confidence in its modes of action, and also in the justice of those to whom it was necessary to make advances, in which they were completely lacking. It was, however, this enterprise

¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 216.

which the newcomer, almost a stranger to England, had just attempted single-handed. He thought the hour was favourable, that diverse and even contradictory causes— notions of religious tolerance and of philosophic curiosity fostered by the liberal school, a return towards retrospective justice springing from the progress of historical studies, the discredit of official Anglicanism and of the rival sects, more or less conscientious aspirations towards a more serious and more living religion—combined to assure at least an audience to one who would explain the true tenets of the Roman Church to Englishmen who had for several centuries been straitly limited to their insular Protestantism.

Invited by the priest of the Sardinian¹ Chapel in London to preach in Italian before the small congregation which gathered there, Wiseman undertook to combine, during Advent, with this parochial preaching a series of lectures for Protestants, as well as his co-religionists, on "the principal doctrines of the Catholic Church." The reputation he had acquired in Rome attracted hearers of every creed, whom the charm of his gifts and the interest which he knew how to impart to the subject rendered constant attendants. "I have two lectures every week," he wrote in December, 1835. "The effect has been a thousand times beyond my expectations. The chapel is crowded to suffocation, every seat is occupied half an hour before the compline, and if it were three times as large it would be full. I have never preached less than an hour and a half, generally an hour and three quarters, yet no

¹ This was the only remaining one of those embassy chapels which were for a long time the only authorized places in London for Catholic worship.

one has found it long, nor has attention once flagged.”¹ Wiseman was both happy and a little troubled by his success. “I used,” he related later, “to shed tears in the sacristy of the Sardinian Chapel, fearing that whatever good the lectures were doing to others, they were filling me with vain-glory.”²

The result of this first experience encouraged him to give a new series of lectures during Lent, 1836. Its success was still greater. The spacious church of Moorfields, whither the orator was transferred, was no less crowded than the Sardinian Chapel. “No controversial lectures delivered within our memory,” said a contemporary, “ever excited public interest to such a degree.” Protestants continued to form a notable part of the congregation, and Lord Brougham was amongst the most assiduous hearers. The subjects chosen by the orator were adapted to meet the prejudices of the English public. Several lectures were devoted to establish the principle of authority in opposition to that of private judgment, and to show, in the Catholic Church, the living authority which every separated communion lacks. This cardinal point well established, the speaker set himself to expound doctrines long disfigured by Protestantism—penitence, purgatory, indulgences, the invocation of Saints, veneration of images and relics, and Transubstantiation. The simple, courteous tone was evidence that the lecturer had confidence in the fair-mindedness of his audience. He did not engage in controversy—the very word was repudiated by Wiseman: “It is not,” he said, “as attacking others, or even as wishing to gain a victory or have a

¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 233, 234.

² *Ibid.*, p. 233.

triumph, that I intend to address you." He took care to enlighten without irritating. He confined himself to the exposition of Catholic truth, to set it in a clear light, and to reinforce it by proofs ingeniously suited to the state of mind and to the moral needs of his hearers. This method ran completely contrary to the current method of apologetics. Protestants were surprised and charmed at meeting this politeness and grace, this penetration and openness of mind, in one of those Roman priests of whom they had been accustomed to form such a gloomy and uncouth notion. Wiseman not only knew how to please them: he possessed the greater gift of persuasion. Through his influence several Anglicans of note were converted, amongst them the distinguished architect Pugin, an ardent and rather intolerant apostle of the Gothic revival. Others, without going as far, felt their bias destroyed or diminished, and acknowledged that the position of Catholicism was much stronger and much more reasonable than they had imagined. Finally, those who remained in opposition were none the less forced to discuss these lectures; their success obtruded itself upon them; the newspapers spoke of them on several occasions and at length, as of an event of importance. Public opinion was impressed by the matter, and this alone was a new fact. The effect was no less considerable upon Catholics. All conspired to surprise them, both that a priest should speak in such a manner and that he should be so listened to. Certain people, doubtless, shook their heads, as if there was in it something suspicious and dangerous. But the majority were flattered at seeing their religion, hitherto ill-treated and scorned, cut so good a figure and assume such importance in the eyes of the English public.

Nothing was better calculated to give them courage and confidence. By way of showing their gratitude to the author of such a transformation, they opened a subscription list, and had a gold medal struck, bearing on one side the portrait of Wiseman, and on the other this inscription: *Nicholao Wiseman, avita religione forti suavique eloquio vindicata, Catholici Londinenses, MDCCCXXXVI.*

Wiseman was not satisfied with an occasional course of sermons, but contrived to secure for his co-religionists a lasting plan of action. He realized a scheme which had been contemplated during two or three preceding years, and founded, in concert with Daniel O'Connell, the *Dublin Review*, the first number of which appeared in London in May, 1836. His object was to continue in it the work, begun by his lectures, of instructing the English public, whose curiosity about these questions had just been awakened, regarding "the genius of Christianity in its Catholic form," of demonstrating its grandeur and beauty, and its variety and suppleness. He had stipulated in express terms that the *Review* "should belong to the present day—that is, should treat of burning questions."¹ And immediately, in order to put this method into practice, he intended that one of the primary objects of its articles should be to follow, to watch, and to further, while trying to correct it, the Oxford Movement, on which he founded great hopes, and to which Catholics could no longer remain inattentive or hostile. He set the example by inserting, in the first number, an article on the controversy raised by Dr. Hampden's appointment, in which he showed himself in sympathy with the feelings and aspirations of Newman and his friends, but pointed out

¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 252.

the inconsistency of their position, the futility of their effort, and the fact that they claimed for their Church an authority, a doctrinal and disciplinary unity, which, by reason of its origin, its constitution, and its source, it could not have; and expressed, none the less, his satisfaction at seeing them set out upon this path, and urged them to persevere: "A day will come," he said, "in which they will pass from the dreams of theory to a reality which will respond to their more ardent aspirations, and fulfil to the utmost their just desires."

When, in August, 1836, Wiseman returned to Rome, where his duties as Rector recalled him, he had quite made up his mind no longer to lose sight of England's religious crisis. From that year dates a new era in the history of English Catholics. He had decided them to forgo their aloofness, and the subsequent foundation of newspapers¹ and of defensive associations,² church-building and restoration of worship, increase in the number of clergy and works of zeal or charity, followed from the impulse given by the young priest during his few months' stay in England. It is noteworthy that Wiseman's initiative should have thus coincided with the Movement created by Newman at Oxford. There was no bond between these two men—their starting-points were absolutely distinct, and even opposed to one another—and yet, under the design of Providence, they both of them contributed so well to the success of the same cause that it would be embarrassing to say which of them served it the better. Only there was, in 1836, this difference

¹ The foundation in 1837 of the *London and Dublin Weekly Orthodox Journal*, and of the *Catholic Magazine*, published monthly; in 1840, of the *Tablet*.

² The foundation in 1838 of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain.

between Wiseman and Newman—that the former anticipated the convergence of the two Movements, whilst the latter doubted and, when necessary, repudiated it.

III

The stir caused by Wiseman's lectures, and the controversy to which they gave rise, continued even after his departure for Rome, and led Newman to explain himself once again upon the delicate question of the situation of the Church of England with regard to that of the Church of Rome. This problem visibly weighed upon his mind, and he decided, in the beginning of 1837, to issue a book entitled *The Prophetical Office of the Church Viewed Relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*—a book on which he had long been at work and more than once rewritten,¹ and in which he developed ideas previously put forth in his letters to the Abbé Jager, as in his lectures delivered in Adam de Brome's Chapel. He was not without some anxiety as to the reception his thesis would meet with.² His idea was to form a *corpus* of theology, which he thought was greatly needed in his Church, out of the hitherto scattered and uncollected materials to be found in the works of the Anglican divines. His constant design was to establish the *Via Media* which should furnish a way of escape from both Protestantism and Catholicism. Against the former he upheld the dogmatic and sacramental principle, and with regard to the latter, he repudiated what he called Roman corruption. In the one he condemned the abuse of private judgment, in the other the claim to doctrinal infallibility. Doubtless these

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 215.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 220, 229.

ideas had been formulated in his preceding works, but were now set forth in a more complete form, and, above all, the tone in which he spoke of the Roman Church became more bitter and hostile.

This work, however, did not leave on its readers' minds the impression of a definite and secure doctrinal system. It evinced a certain vacillation, a groping, as it were, in the dark, like that of a pilot in a fog seeking his way by frequent soundings. Newman hoped that he progressed in a right direction, but dared not affirm it. This was an experiment which the future alone could decide. He wrote in the Introduction: "Protestantism and Popery are real religions, no one can doubt about them: they have furnished the mould in which nations have been cast; but the *Via Media*, viewed as an integral system, has never had existence except on paper, it has never been reduced to practice but by piecemeal; it is known, not positively, but negatively—in its differences from the rival creeds, not in its own properties; and can only be described as a third system, neither the one nor the other, partly both. . . . What is this but to fancy a road over mountains and rivers, which has never been cut?" And he added: "It still remains to be tried whether what is called Anglo-Catholicism . . . is capable of being professed, acted upon, and maintained on a large sphere of action . . . or whether it be a mere modification or transition-state either of Romanism or Popular Protestantism." The same doubts are apparent in his conclusion at the end of the volume: "And now that our discussions . . . draw to a close, the thought, with which we entered on the subject, is apt to recur, when the excitement of the inquiry has subsided, and weariness has succeeded, that what has

been said is but a dream, the wanton exercise, rather than the practical conclusion, of the intellect." Such we find Newman in 1837, and such he remains for several years, anxiously and painfully groping after a solid foundation for his beliefs. It is not surprising that keen observers like J. B. Mozley thought that they detected in his soul "a latent unbelief as regards the truth of the Church of England."¹ It is important to note that Newman's hesitancy at this time was not due to the necessity of following a *Via Media* separated from Rome, but solely to the choice of principles by which this separation was to be effected and justified. He wondered whether they would bear scrutiny when put to the test. Should their inadequacy be proved, the consequence would not be to join the Church of Rome, but to set out in search of another system.

If Newman, in order to rebut certain accusations, deemed it necessary on some occasions to insist upon the points on which he differed from Rome, none the less his tendency was to indicate where he drew near to Catholicism and departed from Protestantism. Thus he devoted *Tract* 75 to an encomium of the Roman Breviary, a copy of which had been found among Froude's belongings. As a consequence of this publication many of his followers bound themselves to a daily recital of the Divine Office, and also undertook its translation, which, however, was stopped by ecclesiastical authority. Still more significant, but less explicit at first sight, was *Tract* 85, published in 1838, which reproduced some lectures upon "Holy Scripture in Relation to the Catholic Creed." Newman therein attacked the Protestant thesis,

¹ Quoted by Overton, *The Anglican Revival*, p. 78.

which only admits as a religious truth what each individual judges to be explicitly established by the Scriptures. He pointed out that many of the most essential truths of Christianity, beginning with that of the inspiration of Scripture itself, would fail to stand this test. His inference was that all beliefs are implicitly contained in Scripture, but that they can only be adequately disclosed by a Church divinely instituted for that purpose. Without this humble faith in the Church, he maintained, Scripture itself would mislead; it would yield incoherent or capricious meanings, varying with the minds of those who claimed to interpret it.

Such writings did not lessen the suspicion in which the Tractarians were held by the Protestant party, which was sharpened by the publication in the spring of 1838 of the *Remains* of Richard Hurrell Froude. When Newman and Keble decided, after consulting their friends,¹ to collect and publish some of the papers left by Froude—the private diary relating his spiritual crisis, his letters, some sermons, and fragments of studies—they especially contemplated doing an act of justice and giving a wholesome example. They considered it was due to so beloved a memory that the religious world, which was ignorant of the decisive part he had taken in their campaign, should be made acquainted with him whom illness seemed to have kept in the background. They thought it useful to display to a Church in which asceticism was forgotten or ignored his heroic self-mortification, his strenuous and even painful progress towards sanctity. Moreover, by exposing to the world somewhat of the lofty aspiration of this soul, there was a possibility that the rising generation might be

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 236-242.

imbued with a little of the enthusiasm which Newman judged necessary for the success of the Movement.¹ But the two editors, so long accustomed to the frankness, witticisms, boldness, and even the passion to which Froude readily abandoned himself in his private intercourse with them, had not reckoned upon the effect which such language would produce upon the public mind when set out in print. In their preface they limited themselves to averting the suspicion of Popery by calling attention to the passages in which their friend Froude spoke harshly of the Church of Rome. The first two volumes, published in 1838, contained the most significant documents, among others his diary and letters. In them, almost on every page, distinctly Catholic statements are to be found: bitter and scornful condemnations of Protestantism, occasional homage paid to the Church of Rome, and, above all, angry maledictions against the English Reformers of the sixteenth century. The emotion caused in the Protestant world was great, and almost took the form of scandal; whilst Arnold protested against what he styled an act of "extraordinary impudence."² Dr. Faussett, Professor of Divinity in Oxford, denounced what he called "the Revival of Popery" in a sermon preached before the University on May 20, 1838, and published immediately, with a dedication to the junior students. It was the first symptom of the hostility which the heads of the University were henceforth to show

¹ Newman, writing to Keble regarding the publication of the *Remains*, says (July 16, 1837): "We have often said the Movement, if anything comes of it, must be enthusiastic. Now, here is a man fitted above all others to kindle enthusiasm" (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 240).

² Letter of August 5, 1838 (Stanley's *Life of Arnold*).

towards the Tractarians.¹ On the advice of his friends, Newman undertook to refute the Professor's attack. The Press took up the controversy and discussed it with passion,² and a debate was raised in Parliament by Lord Morpeth.³ Some members of the University opened a subscription for the purpose of erecting in their town a monument in honour of those whom they styled the "Martyrs of the Reformation," Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley, as an emphatic protest against the insult to the founders of the Anglican Church. In reality it was less an act of piety than a party manoeuvre; it was not so much a question of honouring the martyrs as of embarrassing the Tractarians. If they subscribed, they appeared to make amends; if they refused, they proved that those who accused them of being disloyal to their Church were right. In spite of the pressure of some conciliatory High Churchmen, Newman and Keble did not hesitate to refuse their compliance. Keble wrote: "I am not at all prepared to express a public dissent from Froude in his

¹ Such was the excitement caused that many parents preferred to send their sons to Cambridge, from fear of the manifestations of "Popery" at Oxford (*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, by Ashwell, vol. i., p. 129).

² As regards these newspaper articles, Newman writes: "One step alone is wanted to say that I am the Pope *ipsissimus* in disguise" (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 277).

³ In one of his letters Newman quoted an article, published in the *Dublin Record*, on the occasion of a debate raised in Parliament by Lord Morpeth: "The debate was rendered remarkable for bringing before the notice of the country, through Lord Morpeth, a set of damnable and detestable heretics of late sprung up in Oxford: a sect which evidently affects Popery, and merits the heartiest condemnation of all true Christians. We have paid a good deal of attention to these gentry, and, by the grace of God, we shall show them up, and demonstrate that they are a people to be abhorred of all faithful men. We do not hesitate to say that they are criminally heterodox," etc. (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 256, 257).

opinions of the Reformers *as a party*.”¹ After some hesitation Pusey did likewise, and the disciples for the most part followed the example of their leaders.² Shortly after, in 1839, the second part of the *Remains* was published, with a lengthy preface by Keble, which explained and justified the vehemently attacked first part, but without retracting anything.

During the animated controversy of August, 1838, which had been caused by the publication of Froude's *Remains*, an incident occurred which affected Newman, and troubled him far more than the noisy invectives of his habitual antagonists. The Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Bagot, felt bound to allude to the *Tracts* in his Charge. He owned that they contained excellent matter, but for some words and expressions he was sorry, as likely to lead *others* into error; he feared more for the disciples than for the masters, whom he “conjured to mind what they were about.” Though couched in soft words and compliments, the Episcopal utterance was none the less a censure, unforeseen by Newman, who believed he could rely upon the friendliness and goodwill of Dr. Bagot.³

Newman desired from the outset to see the bishops take the lead in the Movement, and would willingly have kept himself in the background.⁴ They should be the first to be interested in the triumph of a doctrine which gave supernatural sanction to their Order and increased their authority. He was soon compelled to realize that

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 71.

² The Martyrs' Memorial did not realize the monumental splendour dreamed of at first. It was limited to a Gothic cross, which was erected in front of Balliol College in 1841.

³ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 255.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 441-448.

he had nothing to expect from the Episcopate, most members of which seemed ignorant of what was taking place. Those cognizant of it appeared to be more embarrassed than flattered by the elevation claimed for them. They treated as troublesome, if not dangerous, those young Oxford Fellows who by their novel ideas had just aroused their Church from its state of peaceful slumber. The bishops had no intention of helping, but no longer felt satisfied in maintaining an indifferent or morose attitude. Newman's own bishop openly expressed his disapprobation, which made the incident in his view still more serious. The authority exercised by a bishop over his diocese was to him a matter of paramount importance. He asserted that, since the separation from the Papacy, its power had devolved upon every individual bishop of each diocese. "Our Bishop is our Pope, and our idea is that each diocese should form a complete Church in itself." And after his conversion he wrote: "My duty towards my bishop was my point of honour; his disapprobation was the one thing which I could not bear."¹ To those who remarked that in his case the blame was slight, he said: "A bishop's lightest word, *ex cathedra*, is heavy."² Pusey was astonished at a deference he did not share to the same degree; nevertheless, Newman persisted. Perhaps there was mingled with this feeling a sort of weariness and discouragement at meeting no authority in his Church to uphold him. "I have for several years," he wrote to Pusey, "been working against all sorts of opposition, and with hardly a friendly voice. Consider how few persons have said a word in favour

¹ *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 259.

of me. Do you think the thought never comes across me that I am putting myself out of my place? What warrant have I for putting myself so forward against the world? Am I Bishop or Professor, or in any station which gives me right to speak?"¹ Resolved to put his principles into practice, Newman at once informed his bishop that if he found fault with the *Tracts* the publication would immediately be stopped, or at least those at fault would be suppressed. He declared, besides, that the consciousness of submission to his bishop gave him greater pleasure than the diffusion of his writings. The bishop was not the least moved of the two when he saw the effect of a sentence in his Charge inserted without very much consideration and under the pressure of some of those around him. He declared that he never had any intention of incurring the responsibility of stopping the *Tracts*, and at the same time he expressed his esteem for their authors. He ended, after several conferences and exchanges of letters, in which Pusey intervened, by promising to soften the censure when his Charge was printed. Newman, touched by the sentiments of the prelate, and appreciating his anxiety, had no wish to dispute the terms, and declared himself satisfied.² A little later, in the beginning of 1839, Pusey and he, anxious in their turn to satisfy the bishop, published, the former a new statement of the doctrine of the *Via Media*, and of the points in which it deviated from Rome; the latter a sort of summary of all that the *Tracts* had said against the Roman Church.

This first Episcopal intervention did not therefore end

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 58.

² *Apologia; Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 255-265.

badly for Newman, chiefly because of the personal feelings of Dr. Bagot; but, nevertheless, it was for the men of the Movement a disquieting symptom of the disposition of the heads of their Church. If a friend spoke thus, what could be expected from others? In this same year, 1838, the Bishop of Chester announced that "the undermining of the foundations of the Protestant Church is carried on by men living within its own walls," and he inveighed against "those who occupy the seats of the Reformers and abuse the Reform." In 1839, one of the leading members of the Episcopate, Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, congratulated the Bishop of Calcutta on the criticisms of the Tractarians his Charge contained; as far as he was concerned, he reproached the authors for having diminished the simplicity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Scriptural character of the Church of England, but owned at the same time that they had reinstated in the public mind the authority of that Church. It is noteworthy that nearly all the bishops publicly approved the erection of the monument commemorating the Martyrs of the Reformation, thus joining in a manifestation openly directed against Newman and his friends. Between the latter and the Episcopate the gulf was opening. Time was only to make it still larger.

IV

From afar Wiseman continued to follow attentively the vicissitudes of the Oxford Movement. Having returned to Rome in the last months of 1836, he resumed the direction of his College, but his heart was still in England. Watching with interest the efforts made by Catholics to regain their prestige after their long oppression, he

advised and encouraged them, insisting, for example, on the necessity of reforming the education of their clergy, and of imbuing them with a new spirit. Unlike many of his co-religionists, he was, above all, more and more convinced of the importance which the evolution taking place in the bosom of Anglicanism had for the future of Catholicism. From 1837 onwards he attempted to enlighten the Roman world upon this subject. In a work read before the Academy of the Catholic religion in Rome, he pointed out with satisfaction the many signs in English Protestantism of a reconciliation with Catholic ideas. He thought it of even greater importance to influence the English public. In a series of articles published in the *Dublin Review* he followed, step by step, the movements of the Tractarian School, spoke of it with sympathy, and encouraged it in the path it had chosen, but at the same time strove to make it realize the impossibility of remaining midway between Catholicism and Protestantism.¹ The leaders of the Movement were surprised to find in a quarter unfamiliar to them such attentive and searching criticism. It was not that Wiseman flattered himself, any more than he had at the beginning, that the Oxford Movement would immediately bring numerous conversions to Rome; as he has confessed later, he did not then foresee the significant conversions of 1845 and 1850. But he considered that, even apart from all immediate benefit for the Papacy, the progress of Catholic ideas in the bosom of the Church of England was a happy omen. The *Via Media* did not seem to him to lead to a definite

¹ He contributed to the *Dublin Review* of 1837 an article on the High Church theory of dogmatical authority; in 1838 two articles on the *Tracts for the Times*; in May, 1839, an article on Froude's *Remains*.

goal; he saw in it but a transient stage for those passing from Anglicanism to Catholicism. One fact besides impressed him and raised his hopes: the conversations of the notable Englishmen who came to see him whilst passing through Rome enabled him to notice the weakening of old prejudices against Catholicism. Thus, in 1838, he met Gladstone and Macaulay, who brilliantly personified English thought in its diversified tendencies—the former then a Conservative, a fervent Anglican, devoted to High Church ideas, and priding himself on his theological culture; the latter a Liberal, occupied solely with politics and literature, holding rather aloof from religious matters, and at all events without any Catholic tendency. It was singularly remarkable that both showed sympathetic curiosity in regard to Catholicism. Gladstone explained his visit to Rome as the desire “to become acquainted with the practice of the Roman Catholic Church, with its moral and spiritual results upon its members,” and added it was “of the utmost importance to the adjustment” and the development of his own convictions regarding the doctrine of the visibility of the Church, “and the necessity of that doctrine to counterbalance the tendency to indefinite subdivision and ultimate infidelity which springs from the notion of a limitless private judgment.”¹ Upon this subject he had several interviews with Wiseman, whose openness and elevation of mind much pleased him. Macaulay, who came as a sight-seer and an historian, also yielded to the seduction of Papal Rome. He experienced, so to speak, an unexpected revelation of its grandeur, past, present, and future, a revelation which echoed two

¹ Letter to M. Rio, August 5, 1838 (*Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 275).

years later in the famous opening of his essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*.¹ These indications of wider sympathy among Englishmen confirmed Wiseman in his hopes, and he longed to return to England, not for a short visit, but to take up his permanent residence. He felt more and more convinced that his task lay there, and waited somewhat impatiently for the call of his superiors.

V

In spite of all the opposition it encountered, the prejudices aroused in the Protestant masses, the ill-will of the University and the Episcopal authorities, the contempt or suspicion of the political powers, the Oxford Movement increased in strength and numbers, and reached its zenith in 1839. Newman's sermons attracted round St. Mary's pulpit a congregation daily more numerous, more impressed, and more convinced. Printed in volumes, their sale was so great that the author modestly expressed his surprise. The *Tracts* were everywhere asked for, and in the year 1838 alone more than 60,000² of them were

¹ In this essay, after having magnificently described the past grandeur of the Roman Church and its present greatness, Macaulay says: "Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all. She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot on Britain, before the Frank had passed the Rhine, when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch, when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca. And she may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's." How new in 1840 was such language from an English pen!

² *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 278, 279, 283.

sold, besides the American edition.¹ To books and pamphlets were added review articles, usually inserted in the *British Critic*, of which Newman had become editor. Each year there appeared several volumes of the *Library of the Fathers*. In every shape publications of a Catholic tendency multiplied, and were welcomed in the religious world. In various parts of England the clergy met to discuss these novel ideas, and several went to Oxford to judge of affairs with their own eyes. Rogers, writing from London to Newman, says: "Certainly one cannot go anywhere without hearing of the 'Oxford Tract party,' etc. I could scarcely write a letter in the clubroom the other day, so much was my attention distracted by two men who were discussing you, and you seem by degrees to be taking possession even of the public streets; at least, the last time I crossed St. Paul's Churchyard I heard the words 'Newmanite' and 'Puseyite' from two passers-by, who were talking very intently."² Even at the rival University of Cambridge the Movement created a sensation and occupied people's minds; many students from that town came on pilgrimage to Oxford, and returned moved and happy at having seen Newman and Pusey.³

The small group that originated the Movement a few years previously had notably increased. To the companions in arms whom Newman had first collected—Bowden, Frederic Rogers, Isaac Williams, and the two Wilberforces—others had come to join. None among

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 124. Father Hecker says that, during the crisis that led him to the Catholic Church, he was momentarily tempted to enter the Anglican Church through sympathy for the Oxford Movement (P. Hecker, pp. 123-126).

² *Letters of Lord Blackford*, p. 52.

³ See M. J. F. Russell's letter (*Life of Pusey*, vol. i., pp. 404-408).

them were older than the young leader. A few of them were his contemporaries, such as Oakeley, a Fellow of Balliol, who was an elegant writer, gifted with an artistic nature and a winning and godly soul. The greater number were much younger representatives of the "rising generation," in which the promoters of this religious evolution placed all their hopes.¹ Such was Charles Marriott,² one of the principal contributors to the *Library of the Fathers*, a vigorous worker in spite of frail health, of a metaphysical turn of mind, a little vague and abstract, yet none the less carrying a certain authority, owing to his conscientious erudition and, above all, his goodness and virtue; remarkably humble and disinterested, with the spirit of a disciple glad to submit to a master, especially when the master was Newman. With him was Richard William Church,³ one of the men most beloved by Newman. He was not only a distinguished man of letters, who was in after-years to write the best history of the Oxford Movement, but of rare moral worth, practising detachment from self in an unusual degree; judging of men and things with faith, justice, and liberality; firm in his own convictions, and yet as free as possible from party spirit and sectarianism. At first estranged from the Movement owing to his Evangelical origin, he had little by little drawn nearer to it through Marriott's influence, and became, by his intervention, an assiduous listener to the sermons at St. Mary's. It was only, however, in 1838, when he was elected a Fellow of Oriel, that he became

¹ Letter of Frederic Rogers, January 21, 1839 (*Letters of Lord Blandford*, p. 52).

² Born 1811.

³ Born 1815 (see the *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, by Mary Church).

intimate with Newman. He joined the new school too late to take part in the writing of the *Tracts*, but co-operated largely in the *Library of the Fathers* and the *Lives of the English Saints*. Neither Marriott nor Church, in spite of their attachment to Newman, were to follow him in his conversion to Catholicism. This was not the case with the other disciple, who was known afterwards as Father Faber. All his contemporaries agree in noticing the fascination which the young Frederic William Faber¹ exerted from the beginning of his career at Oxford. He was a brilliant conversationalist, a refined scholar, and a charming poet. His mind, naturally mystic and religious, at first wavered between the enthusiasm which Newman's sermons awoke in him and contradictory ideas which he inherited from a strongly Evangelical education. It was only about 1837, after a long resistance, that he entered definitely into the Movement and took a share in editing the *Library of the Fathers*. More inclined, moreover, to works of piety than to controversy, he applied himself, above all, to adapt his new Catholic ideas to his own spiritual life and also to the work in which he was soon to engage as the minister of a parish. As to Froude and Newman, so also to him, a special grace revealed the worth and beauty of Sacerdotal Virginity. Others were A. J. Christie,² a Fellow of Oriel, who, at the request of Newman, translated the first volumes of Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*; J. Dalgairns,³ a man of subtle and penetrating mind, well equipped for discussing problems in theology

¹ Born 1814; a future Oratorian (see the *Life and Letters of F. W. Faber*, by T. E. Bowden).

² Born 1817; a future Jesuit.

³ Born 1818; a future Oratorian.

and religious philosophy; S. Wood,¹ an ardent young layman continually engaged in winning adherents; J. R. Hope Scott,² a former Fellow of Merton, intimate with Newman since 1837, a contributor to the *British Critic*, who was called to the Bar in London, and lived in the world a life of ascetic piety, which the perusal of Froude's *Remains* greatly contributed to develop; lastly, a personage who was to become more distinguished than the others, concerning whose antecedents we shall speak later—Henry Edward Manning, Fellow of Balliol. He had left the University in 1832 to devote himself to pastoral work, and since 1837 had begun gradually to disengage himself from his Evangelical principles and to draw nearer to the Tractarians. On more than one occasion he did not hesitate to support them both by pen and by deed, though at first from an external standpoint and more as an ally than as a follower.

These young men came together from every school or religious thought. Many of them, such as Keble and Pusey, owing to their birth and education, held High Church views. Many others, and these not the least distinguished, passed at first, like Newman, through the Evangelical phase, but found in it no satisfaction for their spiritual need. This, as we have seen, was the case with Oakeley, Faber, Church, Wood, and Manning. Fewer recruits were attracted to the Movement from the "liberal" school. Yet one of them, Mark Pattison,³ who was to become one of the most famous of Oxford scholars, after having appeared too absorbed in his literary studies to

¹ Died prematurely, 1843. Lord Halifax, President of the English Church Union, is his nephew.

² Born 1812. Converted along with Manning.

³ Born 1813 (see Mark Pattison's *Memoirs*).

interest himself in ecclesiastical questions, except in supporting Hampden, found himself drawn towards Tractarianism in 1838. He became its ardent partisan, contributed to its publications, and was wonderfully animated by a religious fervour, which, nevertheless, proved transitory, as he was among the small number of those who, after Newman's conversion, lapsed into scepticism. And even Benjamin Jowett,¹ the most advanced of the Broad Churchmen, about 1839 and 1840, when he was a Fellow of Balliol, still timid in bearing, but already bold in thought, had his hour—though very short, it is true—of *Newmanist* temptation. Alluding to this crisis, he wrote later: "I sometimes think that but for some Divine Providence I might have become a Roman Catholic."²

Of all the "liberals," the most opposed to Newmanism were the disciples of Arnold; they did not feel the want of it, since they believed they had discovered a source of religious life elsewhere. We know, moreover, with what bitterness their master attacked Newman. "What I fear," wrote the latter in 1838, "is the *now* rising generation at Oxford, Arnold's youths. Much depends on how they turn out."³ But even from this quarter more than one was moved by the Movement. Among them was Arnold's beloved disciple, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, the future Dean of Westminster.⁴ Descended from the younger branch of the family of the Earls of Derby, of a distinguished and attractive temperament, young Stanley had passed five

¹ Born 1817 (*Life and Letters of B. Jowett*).

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 74.

³ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 252.

⁴ Born 1815 (*Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley*, by Rowland E. Prothero, with the co-operation and sanction of G. G. Bradley).

years at Rugby School. The feelings he entertained for its Head were those of enthusiastic veneration—one might almost say a species of devotion. He regarded him as “inspired,” and called him his “oracle and idol both in one.”¹ Coming to Oxford in 1834, at the outset of the Movement, he carried with him all his master’s prejudices against dogmatism, and dreamt of a Church large and unbounded enough to embrace the most diverse sects: such was the very antithesis of Tractarianism. The doctrine of Apostolic Succession seemed to him “monstrous,” and he was utterly astonished that anyone could profess it. Moreover, his affections were centred upon Rugby, and he never felt so happy as when he could go back there to converse with Arnold and listen to his sermons. He often said “that being at Rugby was like being in the third heaven.” It is, however, in this very man that one soon sees dawning a curiosity in regard to all he hears told about Newman. One day as he was in the rooms of one of his friends he was told that Newman was passing, and ran to the window to see him. “I take great interest in Newman,” he writes; and in another letter he says: “What most occupies my mind just now is Newman.”² Pusey was the first of the leaders of the Movement whom he heard preach, and he thought him long and dull. A very different impression, however, was made by Newman’s sermons. Though opposed to some of Newman’s ideas, he was touched and even charmed. He readily acknowledged his love for souls and his utter unselfishness. He compared him with Arnold, and in his mouth there was no greater praise. This growing sympathy rendered very painful to him the

¹ *Life and Correspondence of A. P. Stanley*, vol. i., p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 134.

antagonism existing between his dear Rugby master and the leader of the Tractarians. "They seem at present," he said, "to be almost antagonist powers, whereas really they are of the very same essence, so to speak."¹ He did not conceal his regret at the violent attack which Arnold had directed against the Oxford malignants on the occasion of the Hampden case. Soon he even appeared to incline to the side of those malignants. "Stanley now receives the Sacrament at St. Mary's," we read in one of Newman's letters, dated July, 1837.² Some months later, in February, 1838, he confessed the crisis through which he was passing. Newman's system appeared to him "a magnificent and consistent system shooting up on every side," whilst everything else he sees at Oxford is "weak and grovelling." Nevertheless, he still doubts, and feels that "to become Newmanist would be a shock to his whole existence—that it would subvert every relation of life in which he had stood or hoped to stand hereafter." "I dread," he says, "to think of it even as a possibility, while I dread also the possibility of a long and dreary halting between two opinions."³ Many of his contemporaries believed him then won over to the Tractarian school; but he soon again changed his ideas, and in the month of March following he declared that he had found decisive objections against Newmanism.⁴ What he was at this juncture he was destined to remain to the end—a man of brilliant and open mind, uniting a vague but sincere piety to an increasing detachment from dogmatic beliefs; priding himself on comprising all, enclosing all,

¹ *Life and Correspondence of A. P. Stanley*, vol. i., p. 134.

² *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 240.

³ *Life and Correspondence of A. P. Stanley*, vol. i., p. 195.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 196.

at need conciliating all, in a liberal impartiality, without denying that at bottom he had a certain preference for heretics and even for infidels. Nevertheless, owing to his youthful sentiments, he always entertained a feeling of admiration and respect for Newman, and he liked to repeat that he and Arnold were "*the two great men of the Church of England.*"¹

However refractory Arnold's youths might be, there was one whom Newman entirely convinced: this was William George Ward,² a Fellow of Balliol. Of an original, unequal, a little extravagant, but marvellously powerful mind, he wielded very early a great influence over the men of his generation. Almost solely and above all else a formidable dialectician, he professed to ignore history and to despise facts. He lived in a world of abstract ideas and saw nothing outside logic, the deductions of which he pushed to their most extreme consequences, not fearing to scare the timid, but rather taking a pleasure in doing so. By nature he was an "ultra," and loved to speak of himself as incapable of ever being a moderate. He brought, moreover, to the discussion of his ideas an astonishing amount of movement. His animation was catching. Wherever he was there sprang up a debate of which he became the centre, and which he dominated by his resonant voice. It must not be thought that this disputant seemed to other men an aggressive or a tiresome companion. Far from it. He was greatly in request, his company enjoyed, and won from among his firmest

¹ *Life and Correspondence of A. P. Stanley*, vol. i., p. 333.

² See the excellent biography of Ward, by his son Wilfrid Ward, *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*. It is from this book, supplemented by the biography of Stanley, that I have related the origins of W. G. Ward.

opponents friends who never forsook him. Along with his uncompromising notions and his controversial ardour, there was mingled a large share of generosity, sincerity, and even candour, together with a courageous love of truth. In his outbursts there was nothing sullen or bitter, but, on the contrary, an attractive good-fellowship; or, better still, a goodness, a constant good-humour, and sometimes even an exuberant gaiety. His loud, honest laugh was famous at Oxford,¹ and could be heard a long distance off. He thought nothing of interrupting a metaphysical debate to sing at the top of his voice an air from an *opéra bouffe*, or to mimic a ballet in which he parodied the most sedate personages of the University. To the wisdom of Socrates he joined the wit of Falstaff. "I cannot," said Jowett, "resist the charms of the fat fellow whenever I get into his company. You like him as you like a Newfoundland dog. He is such a large, jolly, shaggy creature."²

When, in 1830, Ward, then scarcely eighteen years old, arrived at Oxford he was a Tory in politics, and rather a Radical in philosophy, a follower of Bentham and Mill. These latter influences might have led him to rationalism, but he felt at the same time the need for a true, logical, and effective religion. In this respect he suffered from all that was insufficing and inconsistent in Anglicanism, and was in search of a Christianity which would satisfy him. Led at first by the ideas of Whately, which seemed to fit in with his own philosophical liberalism, he was soon still more attracted by Arnold. He was not a Rugby boy, but

¹ It was said jestingly at Oxford that when Ward and his friend Johnson laughed together in the Observatory it could be heard at St. Giles's (*W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 44).

² *Life and Letters of B. Jowett*, vol. i., p. 80.

the sermons of the reformer of that school impressed him by their moral elevation, and he thought that he had found in their author the sanctity consistent with religious teaching. As for their doctrine, it seemed to him a happy reaction against that external religion of respectability for which he had a special antipathy, and against that formalist, conventional, lifeless Protestantism, as quick to praise itself as to censure others or to be scandalized by them. When Stanley, Arnold's favourite, came to Oxford in 1834, Ward was at once attracted to him out of sympathy for his master. A surprising friendship this, which united these two men of such diverse natures, the one a gentleman of distinguished manners, refined, discreet, punctilious, a little undecided and *dilettante*, and a finished scholar; the other a man of massive proportions, with a big red face ("large, moon-faced," says a contemporary), carelessly dressed, awkward in his manner, a pitiless logician, void of all poetry. Yet such was their intimacy at Oxford that they were called Orestes and Pylades. "I like him immensely," wrote Stanley of Ward in 1836.

It was not Ward's nature to keep his convictions to himself, and among the Oxford undergraduates he became an apostle of *Arnoldism*, and with some success. Along with the ideas of the Head Master of Rugby he naturally adopted his prejudices against Tractarianism, then in its infancy. If urged to go to Newman's sermons he used to answer: "Why should I go and listen to such myths?" He had to be led to them by stratagem. On one occasion a walk was contrived by one of his friends, and Ward found himself at the church door, the clock striking five. "Now, Ward," said he, "Newman is at this moment

going up into his pulpit. Why should you not enter and hear him once? It can do you no harm. If you don't like the preaching you need not go a second time." Ward entered, and was at once seized by that mysterious fascination which hardly anyone could resist. From that time he became an assiduous listener. His state of mind was singular; he felt himself in the presence of a moral authority superior even to that which he believed he had found in Arnold, and yet he fought against it. One would have said that he listened to the sermons for the sole purpose of finding objections to them. When, in 1836, Newman delivered a series of addresses on the *Via Media* in Adam de Brome's Chapel, Ward did not miss any. At first he sat in the foremost row with his inseparable Stanley, just in front of the preacher, upon whom he fixed an eager glance. The most demonstrative of men, the admiration and repulsion which in turn he experienced were evident to all present in his gestures and in the exclamations he whispered into his companion's ear: "What would Arnold say to that?" etc. For the following addresses Newman had to place the benches sideways, so that his hearers would not face him. Often, after a sermon, Ward would approach some of the Tractarians, Rogers among others, and lay before them his objections; these were immediately referred to Newman so that he might answer them, for to satisfy so keen a mind was considered a matter of great importance. Little by little his opposition gave way. As he surrendered to *Newmanism*, so did he extricate himself from *Arnoldism*, and was then better able to judge of his own insufficiency with regard to dogma and the spiritual life. In his anxiety he went to Rugby to lay his doubts before Arnold. He returned dissatisfied, but

he tired his master so much by the vehemence of his arguing that the latter was forced to keep his bed the following day. The publication of Froude's *Remains* had a considerable influence over Ward. Everything in the book pleased him—its method of fearlessly following out its ideas, so much in harmony with his own nature; its lofty ideal of sanctity and mortification; its attacks on the Reformers whom he had never liked; its admiration for that Catholicism towards which he experienced an unconscious attraction; and, above all, its contempt for compromise. "This is what I have been looking for," he said. "Here is a man who knows what he means, and says it. This is the man for me." And again, in writing to Pusey he says: "It is little to say that it delighted me more than any book of the kind I ever read." Rogers remarked that this book gave such pleasure to Ward that "he literally jumped for joy." The lectures in which Newman demonstrated the necessity of a Church in order to interpret the Holy Scriptures completed his conversion. In the early days of May, 1839, Newman wrote to Bowden: "The only real news is the accession, I trust, of Ward of Balliol to good principles. He is a very important accession. He is a man I know very little of, but whom I cannot help liking very much, in spite of his still professing himself a Radical in politics."¹

Having once embraced Tractarianism, Ward placed at its service all his propagandist fervour and controversial powers. Wherever he went he fought for his new convictions, and if he did not win over his hearers, he at least stirred up a tumult by his ideas. Nothing else was spoken of in Oxford. In the Balliol Common Room his chief

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 282.

antagonist was a man of his own age, who had been elected Fellow the same day as himself, and who remained his lasting friend in spite of an increasing divergency of opinions and professions. This was Archibald Campbell Tait, the future Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ Tait was descended from a Glasgow Presbyterian family. He was a hard worker, of a clear and circumspect but slightly commonplace mind, and entirely void of enthusiasm.² Together with deep religious sentiments, he possessed the qualities rather of a statesman than of a clergyman. Tait was almost the only undergraduate possessing any intellectual curiosity and a regard for moral progress who remained obstinately opposed to Newman's influence. He attended the sermons, but did so solely to criticize them. He was therefore prepared to cope with Ward. He met the impetuosity of the latter with the cunning and coolness of a Scotsman. He was, at the same time, eager in these contests, and always had the last word. One day, impatient at not being able to silence Ward, Tait burst out with an exclamation and ran out of the room, banging the door after him. Another time, as the chapel bell rang whilst they were in full dispute, Tait left the room to put on his surplice, and whilst getting into it an answer came to his mind. He returned to the Common Room in his surplice, and brought out his argument with an air of triumph; but Ward countered it, and added, amid roars of laughter: "If you hadn't anything better than that to say, it was hardly worth while coming all the way back in your surplice."

Ward's conversion did not show itself only in the new

¹ *Life of A. C. Tait*, by Davidson and Benham.

² He used to say, "I respect an enthusiast, and all the more because I could never possibly be one myself" (*Life of Tait*, vol. i., p. 139).

direction of his arguments; it was seen also in the more austere and pious life which he led thenceforward. This, moreover, was the usual effect produced by Newman's influence on the Oxford undergraduates. There was, indeed, a great deal to be done in this respect. Doubtless, the University had retained from its origin certain religious practices, but these were quite external, and went hand in hand with profane and gross habits, and especially the excesses in eating. The most solemn exercises of piety were only a conventional parade. The undergraduates, for instance, were obliged on certain days to participate in the Communion, and it was customary for the reception of the Sacrament to be followed immediately by a breakfast, when they fuddled themselves with champagne. Under the influence of the Movement these habits were modified; the young men formed a higher ideal of religion and morality, and endeavoured to conform their lives to it. In 1839 Newman congratulated himself on the increased numbers of weekly communicants. "It is my greatest encouragement,"¹ he wrote. It was a strange spectacle to see middle-aged men and dignitaries of the University persisting in the accustomed worldliness, whilst the younger generation offered them an example of a more severe and more seriously Christian life. A contemporary remarked that the older men were almost the only ones left who drank wine in the Common Room, and added that the heads of the Colleges stubbornly continued to prefer Fridays in Lent for giving dinner-parties; whereas many of the young men denied themselves dinner at their Colleges on those days.² Behind these young men

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 292.

² *Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, pp. 80, 81.

in whom so intense an intellectual and moral life was fermenting, there were, in a more elevated region and surrounded with an increasing respect, the three personages whom they recognized as leaders—Newman, Keble, and Pusey. Whilst Keble kept a little in the background, living in a country vicarage, Newman and Pusey, on the contrary, formed the centre of the agitation in Oxford. At this period none of the divergent ideas which later showed themselves was apparent between them. Newman never wearied in testifying his veneration for Pusey, in whom he recognized a sort of Father of the Church.¹ Pusey, on his side, showed an affectionate admiration for Newman. He did nothing without his advice, and never saw him attacked without defending him. At bottom, doubtless, he was less free from Protestant prejudices, and he would probably have hesitated more about publishing Froude's *Remains*, because of their attacks on the Reformers; but once they were published and the battle begun, he none the less upheld his friend, and shared the blows directed against him. This friendship was soon to be strengthened by the deep impress of sorrow. The first symptoms of consumption² attacked Mrs. Pusey in 1835, and she gradually fell into a state of decline, but her mind retained its vigour in spite of her weakness of body. In 1838 the doctors gave up all hope of a cure. To so affectionate a husband the loss of his wife, for whom he had waited so long and possessed but for a few years, seemed the cruellest of sorrows. The height of holiness to which Pusey had attained showed itself in the way he bore this

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 290.

² On the illness and death of Mrs. Pusey, see *Life of Pusey*, by Liddon, vol. ii.

trial. He writes to Newman of his dear invalid: "I told her of the prospect this morning, and as soon as she understood it she said with a calm smile, 'Then I shall be so blessed, and God can make you happy.' A calm came over her which was no result of effort or thought, but which came immediately from God." The struggle lasted for eight months. Each day brought Mrs. Pusey a letter or visit from Newman. As to her husband's feelings, they are admirably depicted in a letter to Keble: "I much fear that I should not act up to the extent of this visitation. . . . I dread becoming again what I was before; and yet probably I do not dread it enough. In a word, I find myself in the midst of a great dispensation of God towards me, which ought to bring forth much fruit, and I dread falling short of it. . . . I say thus much, because you and Newman have much too good an opinion of me."¹ At last the hour was about to strike. Pusey wrote this short letter to Newman on May 26, 1839: "My dear wife is now approaching the end of her earthly life. By to-morrow's sun she will be, by God's mercy, in Christ, where there is no need of the sun. Will you pray for me that she may have in this life some foretaste of future joy as well as peace." In spite of his resignation, the bereaved husband was overcome by the first shock. Newman consoled and strengthened him. "Your first visit," Pusey wrote to him later, "was to me like that of an angel sent from God." Upon the tombstone of the dear departed, Pusey, after consulting with Keble and Newman, inscribed this prayer, so entirely Catholic: *Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis*, found in the Roman Breviary, which, following the

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 99.

example of Froude, was greatly esteemed among the Tractarians—words, familiar to Catholic ears, which sounded strangely in a Protestant land, where they had been forgotten for three centuries. Pusey, feeling convinced that he was punished for his sins, determined henceforth to lead a more holy and more austere life. Even during his wife's lifetime and, in accordance with her wishes, he had renounced all merely fashionable habits. Thus, in 1837 he sold his horses and carriage, so as to give larger alms for the building of churches in London. Widowerhood drove him still further into this life of abnegation.

Notwithstanding the reverence paid to his lofty virtue, Pusey's influence over the young Tractarians was far from equalling that of Newman. The latter remained the true leader of the Movement. It was not merely that, along with a virtue equal to Pusey's and a genius superior to his, he possessed more ideas and more resources to give them expression, but he had also a rare gift of attraction, employing it both in public and in private life—in his sermons addressed to a crowd of people, in the private direction he gave to each soul, even in the grace of his welcome, the charm of his conversation, and the tender familiarity of his friendship. Another gift, too, was his—that of raising the minds of young men by his speech, almost by his mere presence, to a higher world, to an atmosphere of generosity, self-denial, and heroism. A mere visit to his room would affect them in this way. Under the warmth of his sympathy all that was good and noble was enkindled within them; they felt within themselves that first expansion of virtue of the young heart, which Newman describes, as one who had watched its

developments under his guidance. "It blooms in the young, like some rich flower, so delicate, so fragrant, and so dazzling. Generosity and lightness of heart and amiableness, the confiding spirit, the gentle temper, the elastic cheerfulness, the open hand, the pure affection, the noble aspiration, the heroic resolve, the romantic pursuit, the love in which self has no part—are not these beautiful?"¹ Add to all these qualities in Newman, in order to complete the extraordinary power of fascination he possessed, something indescribably mysterious, as of a mind that has not yet said its last word, and that bore within itself the secret of a hidden future, of a truth as yet unrevealed.

So astonishing was the influence wielded by this one man, that all who lived in Oxford with him could never recall their days there without thinking and speaking of him, and this not only in the circle of his friends, but also among those who were personally the most opposed to his ideas. Dean Lake, for example, a friend of Arnold, declares that "The one great power which then ruled and inspired Oxford was John Henry Newman, the influence of whose singular combination of genius and devotion has had no parallel there, either before or since."² Tait recognizes that Newman "reigned supreme in the University, and captivated the most promising of its youth."³ A friend of Tait, Principal Shairp, after recalling the transformation wrought in Oxford by the Movement, asks himself, "Where was the centre and soul from which so mighty a power emanated?" It lay, he answers, "in

¹ *Sermons for Various Occasions*, p. 265.

² Letter written to the author of the *Life of A. C. Tait*, by Davidson, vol. i., p. 105).

³ *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 105.

one man—a man in many ways the most remarkable that England has seen during this century, perhaps the most remarkable whom the English Church has produced in any century,—John Henry Newman.” And he adds: “The influence he has gained, apparently without setting himself to seek it, was something altogether unlike anything else in our time. A mysterious veneration had by degrees gathered round him, till now it was almost as though some Ambrose or Augustine of elder ages had reappeared. . . . In Oriel Lane light-hearted undergraduates would drop their voices and whisper, ‘There’s Newman!’ when, head thrust forward, and gaze fixed as though on some vision seen only by himself, with swift, noiseless step he glided by. Awe fell on them for a moment, almost as if it had been some apparition that had passed.”¹

Such was the place held by Newman in the minds of these young men, that it might sometimes be inquired whether their taking part in the Movement was not founded on devotion to a man rather than adhesion to a doctrine. James Anthony Froude, a brother of Hurrell, has written as follows, when calling to mind the Tractarian phase through which he passed before he lapsed into scepticism: “While in fact we were only Newmanites, we fancied we were becoming Catholics. . . . With deep faith in *one* great man, we began to follow him along the subtle reasonings with which he drew away from under us the supports upon which Protestant Christianity had been content to rest its weight. . . . The leader of the Movement took us all his own way; all, that is, who were not Arnoldized.” And, at the same

¹ *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, by Principal Shairp, pp. 244, 245.

period, Ward did not hesitate to answer to those who questioned him on his religious beliefs: "My creed is very short: *Credo in Newmanum*." The master, had he been informed of it, would have been the first to blame and repudiate this form of idolatry. To a lady in whom he had seen, not without displeasure, a tendency to exaggerations of this sort, he wrote the following letter: "I am *not* venerable, and nothing can make me so. I am what I am. I am very much like other people. . . . I cannot speak words of wisdom. . . . Do not suffer any illusive notion about me to spring up in your mind. No one ever treats me with deference and respect who knows me, and from my heart I trust and pray no one ever may. I have never been in office or station, people have never bowed to me, and I could not endure it. I tell you frankly, my infirmity, I believe, is always to be rude to persons who are deferential in manner to me."¹ Later, he wrote in his *Apologia*: "To the last, I never recognized the hold I had over young men. Of late years, I have read and heard that they even imitated me in various ways. I was quite unconscious of it, and I think my immediate friends knew too well how disgusted I should be at the news to have the heart to tell me."

Nevertheless, despite his modesty, Newman was none the less conscious of the progress of the cause, and the increasing importance of his own position. "In the spring of 1839," he has written in his *Apologia*, "my position in the Anglican Church was at its height. I had supreme confidence in my controversial *status*, and I had a great and still growing success in recommending it to others. . . . It was, in a human point of view, the

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 313.

happiest time in my life. . . . I did not suppose that such sunshine would last, though I knew not what would be its termination." Something of this "supreme confidence" appeared in the article which he published in 1839 on *The State of Religious Parties* in the *British Critic*. After showing, by the evidence even of its opponents, the success of the Movement, he contemptuously exposed the inconsistency and weakness of the parties which had hitherto composed the Anglican Church, and between these parties and Rome, of which he made a sort of bugbear, he pointed to his *Via Media* as the sole way of escape, and offered himself to the coming generation as a guide who had no feeling of indecision.

VI

At the very time when Newman's disciples showed an enthusiastic confidence in their leader, and when he himself had such confidence in his system, suddenly, without any warning, like a cloud that forms in a clear sky and darkens it in a few moments, a doubt arose in Newman's mind as to the position of the Anglican Church with regard to Rome. Hitherto he had never hesitated in using the strongest arguments against the Roman Church, and had always considered it a duty and a right to withstand her. He himself explains the origin of this doubt. He had long studied the Fathers of the early centuries. He had made a beginning before the Movement started, when he was engaged upon his book on the Arians. Accordingly, about the end of June, 1839, his vocation enabled him to resume their study, but this time the subject bore upon the Monophysites. During the course of this study, a thought suddenly came to his mind.

Were not the Anglicans in the same position as the Eastern heretics in regard to the Universal Church and the See of Rome? Reflection only served to augment his anxiety. How could it be proved that the Eutychians had been heretics without admitting that the Anglicans were equally so? Between the principles and the acts of the Roman Church of to-day and those of former days no difference was apparent, neither did any difference exist between the heretics of those days and the Protestants of to-day. Newman writes later: "I found it so—almost fearfully; there was an awful similitude, more awful, because so silent and unimpassioned, between the dead records of the past and the feverish chronicle of the present. . . . My stronghold was antiquity; now here, in the middle of the fifth century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. . . . What was the use of continuing the controversy, or defending my position, if, after all, I was forging arguments for Arius or Eutyches, and turning devil's advocate against the much-enduring Athanasius and the majestic Leo? Be my soul with the Saints! and shall I lift up my hand against them? Sooner may my right hand forget her cunning, and wither outright, as his who once stretched it out against a prophet of God!"¹

An event happened at this time which served to increase Newman's anxiety. During the month of August one of his friends brought him an article, entitled *The Anglican Claim*, written by Wiseman in the *Dublin Review*. It was one of a series of articles in which the Rector of the English College followed the Oxford Move-

¹ *Apologia*, chap. iii.

ment step by step with the purpose of guiding it towards Rome. In this article he compared the Donatists with the Anglicans, and believed himself justified in applying to the latter St. Augustine's argument against the former. To distinguish which was the legitimate bishop of the two who then disputed Africa, the Bishop of Hippo used this criterion: Look on which side the main body of the faithful is in communion. A single phrase sufficed the great doctor to express his thoughts: *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. Newman was not in the first instance disturbed by the comparison with the Donatists; he believed he had an answer to it. But his friend persisted, and repeated several times St. Augustine's words: *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. "When he was gone," says Newman later, "they kept ringing in my ears, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*; they were words which went beyond the Donatists: they applied to that of the Monophysites. They gave a cogency to the article, which had escaped me at first. Who can account for the impressions which are made on him? For a mere sentence, the words of St. Augustine, struck me with a power which I never had felt from any words before. To take a familiar instance, they were like the 'Turn again, Whittington,' of the chime; or, to take a more serious one, they were like the *Tolle, lege,—tolle, lege*, of the child which converted St. Augustine himself."¹

For a time Newman's anxiety was not known to the public, and he only allowed a glimpse of his doubts to two of his friends. To Rogers, one of his favourite confidants, he wrote on September 22, 1839, "that he had had the first real hit from Romanism"; then, after refer-

¹ *Apologia*, chap. iii.

ring to Wiseman's article, the reading of which he says "had given him a stomach-ache," he adds: "At this moment we have sprung a leak, and the worst of it is that those sharp fellows Ward, Stanley and Co. will not let one go to sleep upon it. . . . I have not said so much to anyone. . . . And now, Carissime, good-bye. It is no laughing matter. I will not blink the question, so be it; but you don't suppose I am a madcap to take up notions suddenly—only there is an uncomfortable vista opened which was closed before. I am writing upon my first feelings."¹ A few days later, during a visit to some friends, as he was walking with Henry Wilberforce in the New Forest, he was led also to confide in him his doubts and their causes: "I cannot conceal from myself that, for the first time since I began the study of theology, a vista has been opened before me, to the end of which I do not see." His companion, upon whom this revelation came "like a thunder-stroke," expressed a hope that his master might die rather than take such a step. He replied with deep earnestness that he had thought, if ever the time should come when he was in serious danger, of asking his friends to pray that, if it was not indeed the will of God, he might be taken away before he did it. "One thing, however, is certain—such a step shall never be taken without the assurance from Keble and Pusey that such is my duty." He also repudiated the idea that his young followers should be expected in this case to follow him in a body.²

¹ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 284. At an earlier date (January, 1839) Newman had written to Rogers: "It sometimes comes on me as an alarming thing, almost a sin, that I doubt whether I should grieve, though all that has been done melted away like an ice palace."

² After he was converted to Catholicity, Henry Wilberforce himself related this conversation in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1869.

By a singular coincidence Newman, in the midst of his troubles, received a letter from Manning asking his advice about the best means of retaining in the Anglican Church a lady who was tempted to become a Roman Catholic. Newman accepted the responsibility, and sought a means of persuasion; but his answers betrayed a sort of discouragement when treating of the claims of Anglicanism above those of Romanism. As his answer characterizes the state of his mind at this period, it is reproduced *verbatim* :

Oriel College, September 1, 1839.

MY DEAR MANNING,

I feel very anxious about such a case as you mention; from the consciousness that our Church has not the provisions and methods by which Catholic feelings are to be detained, secured, sobered, and trained heavenwards. Our blanket is too small for our bed. I say this being quite in the dark as to the particular state of mind of your friend—and how she has come into it. For ourselves, I am conscious that we are raising longings and tastes which we are not allowed to supply—and till our Bishops and others give scope to the development of Catholicism externally and wisely, we *do* make impatient minds seek it where it has ever been, in Rome. I think that, whenever the time comes that secession to Rome takes place, for which we must not be unprepared, we must boldly say to the Protestant section of our Church—"You are the cause of this: you must concede; you must conciliate; you must meet the age; you must make the Church more efficient, more suitable to the needs of the heart, more equal to the external. Give us more services, more vestments and decorations in worship; give us monasteries; give us the signs of an apostle, the pledges that the Spouse of Christ is among us. Till then you will have continual secessions to Rome."

This is, I confess, my view. I think nothing but *patience* and dutifulness can keep us in the Church of England—and remaining in it is a test whether we have great graces.

If, then, your friend is attracted to Rome by the exercise of devotion which it provides, I should press on her the duty of remaining in the calling in which God has found her. And enlarge upon the doctrine of 1 Cor. vii.; also I think you must press on her the prospect of *benefiting* the poor Church, through which she has her baptism, by stopping in it. Does she not care for the souls all round her, steeped and stifled in Protestantism? How will she best care for them: by indulging her own feelings in the communion of Rome, or in denying herself and staying in sackcloth and ashes to do them good? Will she persuade more of her brethren by leaving them, or by continuing with them? Is she unmarried? is there any chance of making her a "mother superior"? If, however, she takes the grounds of *distrusting* the English Church, doubting its catholicity and the like, then I suppose you must retort with the denial of the Cup—the doctrine of purgatory as practically held—the non-proof of the Church's infallibility—the anathema, etc., with the additional reflection that she is *taking a step*, and therefore should have some abundant evidence on the side of that step (and ought one not seriously to consider whether accidental circumstances have not determined her—disgust at some particular thing, faith in some particular person, etc.?). That step is either a clear imperative duty, or it is a sin. On the other hand, can she deny that the hand of God is with one Church, even granting for *argument's* sake, Rome has some things which we have not? Is it dead? Has it the signs of death? Has it more than the signs of disease? Has it not lasted through very troublous times? Has it not from time to time marvellously revived when it seemed to be losing all faith in holiness? Is it *to be given up*?—for her step would be giving it up—would be saying: "I wish it swept away and Rome developed in its territory," not "I wish it reformed—I wish it corrected—I wish Rome and it to be one." I have written you a most pompous letter on general *τόποι*—but since I do not know anything in particular, I can but preach to you.¹

¹ Purcell's *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 233, 234.

All these reasons, which Newman mustered together with great trouble, and which he presented in a certain tone of sadness and disillusion, were evidently the arguments by which he strove to answer the doubts of his own conscience. It was thus he led himself to believe it a duty to remain in his own Church, notwithstanding the weaknesses he found in her. Moreover, with the passage of days and weeks, the first keen impression of doubt abated, and his distress ceased. Upon reflection, he became convinced that he ought to master his feelings, and to follow his reason rather than his imagination. Ought he not to ascertain first whether this doubt was not a temptation or snare of the Devil? Time alone, it seemed to him, could solve the question. If the suggestion came from above, it would manifest itself in a more decided manner. He thought of what happened to the young Samuel, who, when called by God during his sleep and not being able to discern from whence came the voice, lay down on his couch. Did not God repeat the call several times until the future prophet realized His voice? Why could not Newman rest like Samuel? If it was God, He would call him again. He even chose this Biblical episode as the text of his sermon on *The Divine Calls*, which he preached in 1839. Evidently, all unknown to his auditors, he was thinking of the crisis through which his own soul was passing when he analyzed with such a depth of penetration the various forms of these calls, and also when he expressed with poignant emotion their suddenness, their mystery, their obscurity, and, above all, the joy of following them when realized: "What gain is it to please the world, to please the great—nay, even to please those whom we love, compared with this? What

gain is it to be applauded, admired, courted, followed, compared with this one aim of not being disobedient to a heavenly vision? What can this world offer comparable with that insight into spiritual things, that keen faith, that heavenly peace, that high sanctity, that everlasting righteousness, that hope of glory, which they have who in sincerity love and follow our Lord Jesus Christ? Let us beg and pray Him day by day to reveal Himself to our souls more fully, to quicken our senses, to give us sight and hearing, taste and touch of the world to come; so to work within us that we may sincerely say, 'Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel, and after that receive me with glory. Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is nought upon earth that I desire in comparison with Thee. My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.'"¹

Surely such language is that of a man ready to obey generously and joyously the Divine call. But at the time Newman was not certain that the voice which for a moment had troubled him came from God. The fear that had crossed his mind of being obliged to acknowledge the truth of the Roman Church had vanished after a few weeks of unrest, and he found himself strong in his first conviction. Nevertheless, something of this shock remained, and Newman had felt himself like a traveller led by a mysterious hand towards an end which he knew not. That impression was to dominate him still more in the future. In vain he tried to persuade himself that he still trusted in his Church; he no longer felt the same confidence in himself. He wrote later: "I have seen the shadow of a hand on the wall. . . . He who has seen

¹ *Plain Sermons.*

a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it." The doubt had not so completely disappeared as he hoped. A rent remained, unperceived at the moment, but which afterwards deepened into an abyss. A new period began in his life. Up to this time he had fought against others; henceforth he was destined to fight against himself—a far more painful and difficult combat.

CHAPTER IV

THE CRISIS

(1839—1843)

- I. Newman is compelled to seek another basis for his *Via Media*—His prejudices against Catholics because of their alliance with Daniel O'Connell—He receives the Hon. George Spencer coldly.
- II. Several of Newman's followers become less attached to Anglicanism and more attracted to Rome—Ward's opinions—Newman's embarrassment and disquiet at this state of mind—He thinks of resigning his Vicarage.
- III. *Tract 90* endeavours to establish that the Thirty-nine Articles can be understood in a Catholic sense—Newman does not anticipate a storm.
- IV. Outburst against *Tract 90*—The heads of the Colleges censure it—Newman's calm—The violence of the attacks against him—His correspondence with the Bishop of Oxford—He refuses to withdraw *Tract 90*, but consents to the suspension of the *Tracts*.
- V. Controversy in regard to *Tract 90* continues—Thomas Arnold becomes an Oxford Professor—The Bishops censure the *Tract*—The Jerusalem Bishopric.
- VI. Wiseman at Oscott—His attempts to communicate with the Tractarians—He is blamed by many Catholics—He publicly explains the line of conduct that should be followed in regard to the Oxford Movement.
- VII. Newman is hurt by the Episcopal censures—At the same time, he repudiates all idea of conversion to Roman Catholicism—His theory of Anglicanism and Samaria—The stiffness with which he repels the intervention of Catholic priests—Doubt again enters his mind.
- VIII. Ward and his friends show themselves more and more favourable to Rome—Their relations with Catholics—Pusey's alarm—He vainly attempts to restrain Ward—His letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury—Newman's embarrassment when asked by Pusey to disavow Ward.
- IX. Newman at Littlemore—He offers a retreat to his friends—Denunciations against the supposed monastery—Newman's impatience.
- X. Pusey is unable to induce Newman to disavow Ward—Keble's attitude—Williams and Rogers' depar-

ture—Pusey's sermon on the Eucharist denounced to the Vice-Chancellor—A Commission deprives him of his right to preach before the University for two years. XI. Newman's state of mind—He retracts his former attacks on Rome—Though his faith in Anglicanism is tottering, he continues to restrain his followers from joining the Roman Church—He restrains Ward and Faber—Wiseman does not admit the advisability of these delays—Smith's conversion. XII. Lockhart at Littlemore—His abjuration determines Newman to resign his living—His answers to those who advise him not to do so—His farewell sermon at Littlemore.

I

MORE or less free from the doubt that had assailed him in the summer of 1839, Newman did not hide from himself that the system upon which he had hoped to build his *Via Media* was in part shattered. He had now to seek other arguments to justify the position of the Anglican Church towards Rome. This he endeavoured to do in an article on the *Catholicity of the English Church*, published in January, 1840. If under the changed circumstances it was a difficult matter to indicate the notes of unity and universality for his Church, he thought it possible to maintain that she possessed the other notes of the true Church. He hoped, moreover, that the Anglican Church would leave her isolation and be united to a reformed and purified Rome—a union which he desired with all his heart and wished to be prayed for. In the meantime he considered it the duty of the children of his Church to be patient and trustful. Whatever were her weaknesses and her faults, she was still their Mother; it was better to help her to return to unity by remaining in her fold than to abandon her. Even whilst admitting her to be schismatical, he deemed it an insufficient reason for leaving her for the Roman Church, which also had her weaknesses and imperfections. He reassured his conscience and

strengthened his fidelity less by the claims of his own Church than by the false claims of her rival. His chief argument in favour of Anglicanism consisted in accusations against the "corruption" of Romanism.¹ It was a negative and thoroughly Protestant argument, but one that, because of the prejudices of his upbringing, influenced Newman's mind.

At times, however, Newman seemed to feel remorse for these attacks upon the Roman Church. He began to realize that all he said against her was based upon the testimony of Anglican theologians, who might have calumniated her. He remembered how Froude, when dying, had protested against such attacks, and declared them unjust and uncharitable. Yet, notwithstanding the awkwardness and repugnance that he felt in insisting upon the doctrinal errors of Rome, he felt more at ease in criticizing her political and social government, and what he called her "spirit of ambition and intrigue," and he felt especially justified on "this moral ground." Of this immorality of Romanism he thought he had an obvious proof in the alliance of his Catholic fellow-countrymen with O'Connell. As an English Conservative he viewed the Irish agitator as a mere fomenter of violence and revolution, who hounded on men of all religions and of no religion against the Anglican Church. The participation of Catholics in such a campaign appeared to him to justify and confirm all the old accusations against the unscrupulousness and policy of the Roman clergy. This was, in his eyes, a providential warning to those wavering

¹ Article from the *British Critic*, January, 1840; letters at the beginning of 1840 (*Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., *passim*); *Apologia*.

in their faith, and he thought there could be no better preservative against Popery.¹

This state of mind, which to-day one has some difficulty in imagining, accounts for the uncourteous reception given by Newman in January, 1840, to a good-natured and most inoffensive convert, George Spencer.² We have seen that Spencer was ordained priest in 1832, and devoted himself to a Crusade of Prayer for the return of England to the unity of the Faith. In France, Italy, and Germany, his appeal had been successful. He now cherished the large-minded idea of interesting in this undertaking those Anglicans whom he believed sincere in their wish to lead the Anglican Church back to Catholic truth. He therefore came to Oxford and sought out Newman. Who could doubt but that these two men were made to agree and understand one another? Newman was at this very time also striving to establish religious unity by prayer.³ Yet he received Spencer coldly, and, unlike many of his friends, among others Oakeley and Ward, declined an invitation to dine with him. This, as he wrote to a friend, was not merely because he refused to have "familiar and social intercourse" with a man whom he considered to be in *loco apostatæ*,⁴ but chiefly because he was prejudiced

¹ In 1835 Newman, having shown hospitality to the Rev. J. Maguire (a Catholic priest, introduced by Cardinal Wiseman), had been "disgusted" at hearing him defend O'Connell and Hume. He saw in this a proof of the "cruel Church" which would willingly annihilate the Church of England (*Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 115, 124, 131, 132).

² Spencer became a Passionist in 1846, and died in 1864, leaving a saintly memory behind him.

³ A small book, entitled *Prayers for Union*, was then on sale in Oxford. Many of these prayers were taken from a Catholic book published shortly before in London.

⁴ *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 295.

against him on account of the political conduct of the clergy with whom he was associated. A few days later he wrote to Spencer to excuse or, more accurately, to explain his behaviour: "The news that you are praying for us is most touching, and raises a variety of indescribable emotions. . . . Why, then, do I not meet you in a manner conformable with these first feelings? For this single reason, if I may say it, that your acts are contrary to your words. You invite us to a union of hearts, at the same time that you are doing all you can, not to restore, not to reform, not to reunite, but to destroy our Church. . . . You are leagued with our enemies: 'The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau.'" In support of this accusation, Newman reproached the Catholics of England for having united themselves with "professed infidels, scoffers, sceptics, unprincipled men, rebels," against the Anglican Church; for having allied themselves "with those who hold nothing, against those who hold something." And he concluded in these terms: "This is what distresses my own mind so greatly, to speak of myself, that, with limitations which need not now be mentioned, I cannot meet familiarly any leading persons of the Roman Communion, and least of all when they come on a religious errand. Break off, I would say, with Mr. O'Connell in Ireland and the Liberal party in England, or come not to us with overtures for mutual prayer and religious sympathy."¹ Spencer made no reply to this harsh letter. But Newman was not satisfied with merely private harshness. Under the same feeling of prejudice he wrote an article in the *British Critic* against the Roman controversialists.

¹ *Apologia*.

“‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’ . . . We see it attempting to gain converts among us by unreal representations of its doctrines, plausible statements, bold assertions, appeals to the weaknesses of human nature, to our fancies, our eccentricities, our fears, our frivolities, our false philosophies. We see its agents, smiling and nodding and ducking to attract attention, as gipsies make up to truant boys, holding out tales for the nursery, and pretty pictures, and gilt gingerbread, and physic concealed in jam, and sugar plums for good children. Who can but feel shame when the religion of Ximenes, Borromeo, and Pascal is so overlaid? Who can but feel sorrow when its devout and earnest defenders so mistake its genius and its capabilities? We Englishmen like manliness, openness, consistency, truth. Rome will never gain on us till she learns these virtues, and uses them; and then she may gain us, but it will be by ceasing to be what we now mean by Rome, by having a right, not to ‘have dominion over our faith,’ but to gain and possess our affections in the bonds of the Gospel. Till she ceases to be what she practically is, a union is impossible between her and England.”

The very violence of this language denotes a want of self-control, and indicates a renewal of the anxiety into which the author had been for a time thrown at the thought of being obliged to admit the rights of that Rome so long anathematized. But Newman could not conclude with words of acrimony, so added :

“If Rome does reform (and who can presume to say that so large a part of Christendom never can?), then it will be our Church’s duty at once to join in communion with the Continental Churches. . . . And though we may not live to see that day, at least we are bound to pray for it. . . . It was most touching news to be told, as we were lately, that Christians on the Continent were praying together for the spiritual well-being of England. May they gain light while they aim at unity, and grow in faith whilst they manifest their love! We, too, have our

duties to them ; not of reviling, not of slandering, not of hating, though political interests require it ; but the duty of loving brethren still more abundantly in spirit whose faces, for our sins and their sins, we are not allowed to see in the flesh."

II

Among the young men who had entered so ardently into the Movement many held ideas and inclinations very different from the first Tractarians. Those loyal sons of the English Church, closely bound to her by their past, had no other thought than to lead her back to what the theologians of the seventeenth century had wished to make her. Far from seeking her destruction, they endeavoured to invigorate her, to render her stronger against her rivals, and in particular against the Church of Rome, a recognition of whose claims never so much as entered their minds. But with the new recruits it was otherwise, for they, in consequence of their age and education, had not the same attachment to their Church. At the period when they entered the Movement controversy had already dealt hardly with several Anglican theses. Notwithstanding his determination to resist the Roman Church, Newman had been obliged to admit that the position of that Church was much stronger on several points than he had anticipated. Although he had not spoken of the doubt that had crossed his mind whilst reading the early Fathers, yet everyone had felt that the study of their works led to a conclusion different from that which had been expected. Again, Froude's recently published *Remains* tended to influence the younger men, and could be taken as an encouragement to dislike the Reformers and to admire and envy the Roman Church.

It was not surprising, therefore, that these fresh recruits were not so deeply rooted in Anglicanism nor so strongly prejudiced against Rome as the early Tractarians. Moreover, many were of an age when enthusiasm and determination led them to despise the precautions taken by the leaders of the Movement; they were more impetuous in their advance and ambitious to proceed further.

Among the most fervent disciples of Newman may be reckoned Oakeley, Faber, Dalgairns, and, most energetic of all, W. G. Ward, who gave the impulse and tone to the others, and brought among them his usual impetuosity, his fondness for extreme solutions, his contempt for all compromise, all prudence, and his *enfant terrible* eccentricities. It may be more truly said of him than of any of the rest that he never had any special fondness for the Church of England. She was not to him a loved being from whom he could not separate himself without anguish: she was but a system to be accepted or rejected according to the conclusions to which his reason led him. The inconsistencies of that Church at the moment jarred upon his logical mind. Of her history in the past he knew little. One of his boasts was that he despised and ignored history, and that he had never read the Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century. Cardinal Newman, writing to Ward's son in after-years, said: "Your father never was a High Churchman."¹ Though he was a devoted follower of Newman, declaring himself his disciple, and believing that he held identical views, yet Ward did not scruple to urge Newman to compromise himself, and to push his principles to the most extreme

¹ W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement, by Wilfrid Ward, p. 136.

conclusions. He was the first to lay stress upon the divergence which began to appear between Newman and Pusey, and, to the great scandal of the first Tractarians, appeared more eager to proclaim than to suppress it. He was doubtless sincere in declaring that submission to the Church of Rome never occurred to him as a probability; but he was obviously fascinated by the dogmatic consistency of that Church, her principle of authority, her ideal of sanctity, her pious customs, and he recognized that she possessed advantages lacking to Anglicanism. He studied with zest the great scholastic doctors of the Middle Ages—St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventura—together with the Jesuit theologians of the sixteenth century—Suarez and Vasquez—the mystic and ascetic writings, and the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. It was in vain for him to repudiate all thought of conversion to Romanism. This conclusion seemed to follow naturally from the ideas which fermented in his active mind and constantly broke forth in his animated conversation and his ardent and interminable arguments. “When I walk with Mr. Ward,” said one of his friends, the son of Moncrieff, the Scottish judge, “he begins by stating a certain number of principles which are so plain as to seem like truisms. I agree to them one after another, when suddenly he opens a trap-door, and I find myself suddenly landed in Rome.”¹

In the early days of 1839, in an article on *The State of Religious Parties*, Newman had recognized the exaggerations of some of his followers. There would ever be a number of persons, he said, professing the opinions of a movement, hasty, who talked loudly and strangely;

¹ W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement, p. 34.

persons too young to be wise, too generous to be cautious, too warm to be sober. Nevertheless, at this time Newman attached little importance to these discords, and did not regard them as dangerous. It was only later, and when in trouble with his own doubts, that he realized the peril. If he himself had obtained a passing glimpse of Rome as the goal to which his path might impel him, what was there not to be feared for younger, more ardent, and more adventurous minds? "Since I read Dr. Wiseman's article," he wrote to Pusey, "I have desponded much; for, I said to myself, if even I feel myself pressed hard, what will others, who have either not thought so much on the subject or have fewer retarding motives?"¹ For the first time he looked upon conversions to Catholicism as possible. This anxiety haunted him to such a degree that he incessantly returns to it in his letters. He writes to his sister on November 17, 1839: "The question of the Fathers is getting more and more anxious. I never can be surprised at *individuals* going off to Romanism." Again, he writes to his friend Bowden on January 10, 1840: "Things are progressing steadily; but breakers ahead! The danger of a lapse into Romanism, I think, gets greater daily. I expect to hear of victims." Four days later he expresses the same fear to his sister. On February 21 he refers again to the danger of seeing "some of our best members turning Roman Catholics." And on the 25th he writes: "Certainly the way that good principles have shot up is wonderful; but I am not clear that they are not tending to Rome."²

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 153.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 292, 293, 297, 298, 299, 300. Pusey is no less concerned about the possible secessions. He replied to a friend who inquired if anything had yet occurred that up to the

Newman did not hide from himself that his own writings, his sermons, and the ideas which he propagated, were the chief cause of this tendency to Romanism. He felt a special responsibility for the danger which these young souls incurred. It was his duty to guard, keep, and direct them. But how? The duties of a party leader were always distasteful to him, and he was far from possessing the requisite qualities. He himself had a mind too restless, too investigating, too subtle, and too ready to consider all sides of the question, for him to be able to give a resolute direction to others. His conscience also was too sensitive, too perplexed, and too scrupulous in regard to the independence of others, too respectful of the interior working of each soul. To all this must justly be added that he was subject to a sort of indolence which he himself acknowledges. "My great principle ever was, Live and let live. I never had the staidness or dignity necessary for a leader. . . . I never was from first to last more than a leading author of a school; nor did I ever wish to be anything else. . . . Thus the Movement, viewed with relation to myself, was but a floating opinion; it was not a power."¹ If at any time Newman was little fitted to impose his direction, he was still less so now, after the perturbations which his own ideas had undergone. How was he to command others when he had no confidence in himself? He says: "I never had a strong wrist, but at the time when it was most needed the reins had broken in my hand. With an anxious presentiment

present, by the grace of God, nothing had, but he added: "There is no knowing what may come, so we must not boast" (*Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 167).

¹ *Apologia*.


in my mind of the upshot of the whole inquiry, which it was almost impossible for me to conceal from men who saw me day by day, who heard my familiar conversation, who came, perhaps, for the express purpose of pumping me, and having a categorical *yes* or *no* to their questions, how could I expect to say anything about my actual, positive, present belief which would be sustaining or consoling to such persons as were haunted already by doubts of their own?"¹

Newman's feeling of his own incapacity and powerlessness weighed heavily upon him, and he asked himself if it was not his duty to resign his charge of St. Mary's. He confided in October, 1840, to Keble, the friend whom it was most natural for him to consult on such a point, the fact that unintentionally he had influenced by his sermons the young University men in his congregation more than his parishioners, and that the University authorities, who were displeased at this influence, had sought means to oppose him; and he adds:

"I cannot disguise from myself that my preaching is not calculated to defend the system of religion which has been received for three hundred years, and of which the Heads of Houses are the legitimate maintainers in this place. . . . But this is not all. I fear I must allow that, whether I will or no, I am disposing them towards Rome. . . . Many of the doctrines which I have held have far greater, or their only, scope in the Roman system. . . . The *arguments* which I have published against Romanism seem to myself as cogent as ever; but men go by their sympathies, not by argument, and if I feel the force of this influence myself, who bow to the arguments, why may not others still more who never have in the same degree admitted the arguments? Nor can I counteract the danger by preaching or writing against Rome. I

¹ *Apologia*.

seem to myself almost to have shot my last arrow in the Article on English Catholicity. It must be added that the very circumstance that I have committed myself against Rome has the effect of setting to sleep people suspicious about me, which is painful now that I begin to have suspicions about myself."¹

Keble, who was much moved by this request for advice, considered that Newman's resignation would be a sort of scandal, and would trouble minds still more. He counselled him, therefore, to remain. "Since you think I *may* go on," was Newman's answer, "it seems to follow that, under the circumstances, I *ought* to do so." And he enumerates the principal considerations that would induce him to follow the advice of his friend: 

"1st. I do not think that we have made fair trial how much the English Church will bear. I know it to be a hazardous experiment—like proving cannon. Yet we must not take it for granted that the metal will burst in the operation. It has borne at various times, not to say at this time, a great infusion of Catholic truth without damage. As to the result—viz., whether this process will not approximate the whole English Church as a body to Rome—that is nothing to us. For what we know, it may be the providential means of uniting the whole Church in one, without fresh schismatizing or use of private judgment.

"2nd. Say that I move sympathies for Rome: in the same sense does Hooker, Taylor, Bull,² etc. Their *arguments* may be against Rome, but the sympathies they raise must be towards Rome, *so far* as Rome maintains truths which our Church does not teach or enforce. . . . I may if so be go further, I may raise sympathies *more*; but I am but urging minds in the same direction as they do.

"3rd. Rationalism is the great evil of the day. May

¹ *Apologia*.

² Anglican theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries claimed by the High Church.

not I consider my post at St. Mary's as a place of protest against it? I am more certain that the Protestant (spirit) which I oppose leads to infidelity than that which I recommend leads to Rome."¹

The considerations which induced Newman to retain his parish and continue his work had the effect of invigorating him for the moment. He wrote to Rogers, giving him an account of his correspondence with Keble. "I am more comfortable than I was. . . . I do not fear at all any number of persons as likely to go to Rome, if I am secure about myself. If I can trust myself, I can trust others."² Only from the moment that he decided to remain at his post there arose duties which he did not conceal from himself. He must do his best to calm the troubled minds among his young disciples; to direct those who were in doubt, and retain those who threatened to wander away. This was the cause of a publication which attained world-wide celebrity, and produced a very different effect from that which the author had anticipated—viz., the last of the *Tracts*, the famous *Tract* 90, which appeared on February 27, 1841, entitled, *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles*.

III

The "Thirty-nine Articles of Religion," approved and promulgated by Queen Elizabeth in 1571, do not contain a perfect code of doctrine or a complete system of belief. They are a somewhat incongruous medley, and their sole object seems to have been in some degree to remedy the religious anarchy of the period by imposing a uniform

¹ *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 319.

belief upon certain points then in general dispute. This they had done rather by repudiating supposed errors than by affirming positive truths. If at times their form was somewhat violent and aggressive, especially when attacking certain dogmas of the Roman Church ; if they abused these dogmas as "fond things, vainly invented and repugnant to the Word of God" ; if the Mass was repudiated "as a blasphemous fable" (the text was far from being always precise), it seemed as if the compilers were afraid of estranging one or other party by too lucid an explanation. Hence the somewhat divergent commentaries which were afterwards composed in order to explain the true sense of the Articles. In the course of time a Protestant and anti-Catholic interpretation, which, as a matter of fact, seemed to be the most natural, prevailed.

All the clergy were bound to subscribe to these Articles at ordination. It had been the usage for many years to do this without attaching much importance to the act, and the ecclesiastical authorities were often the first to regard it as a mere formality ;¹ but as, under the influence of the Movement, religious ideas took a deeper and more religious tone, it was to be expected that closer attention would be given to this subscription and to the fact that it appeared incompatible with the Catholic principles which some were endeavouring to restore in the Anglican Church. Newman knew, from various indications, that this doubt began to arise in the minds of the most advanced of his followers. "What are you going to make of the Articles?"

¹ Stanley, at the time of his ordination, was troubled at being obliged to sign the Article that enforces the Athanasian Creed as a rule of faith. But the scruple was overcome by the declaration of his Archdeacon, who explained to him that this adhesion did not pledge him to much.

was a question which they asked him. Was it not to be feared that consciences already disturbed should see here a reason for leaving the Church? It was in order to remove this danger that he wrote *Tract 90*.

He undertook to prove that, notwithstanding their Protestant origin and appearance, the Articles were susceptible of a Catholic interpretation. To those who asserted that they had been directed against Roman doctrine he replied by making a distinction. In his opinion by Roman doctrine might be meant one of three very different things: (1) the *Catholic teaching* of the early centuries; (2) the *formal dogmas of Rome* as contained in the later Councils, especially the Council of Trent; (3) certain actual popular beliefs and usages sanctioned by Rome, which he calls *dominant errors*. Now he maintains that the Articles condemn nothing of *Catholic teaching*, that they are compatible with some of the *formal dogmas*, and that they entirely repudiate only *the dominant errors*. They do not, then, strike any blow against whatever is of the essence of Catholic truth. Entering into details, Newman seeks to establish that this Catholic interpretation may be applied to the Articles which seem most repugnant to it, such as those which concern Scripture and the Church, General Councils, Justification, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, the Mass, the Celibacy of the Clergy, etc. The task is sometimes embarrassing, and he performs it only by employing some singularly subtle arguments. His avowed design was to stretch each Article as far as possible in the Roman direction. He avoids forcing the sense of the words, but does his best to extend their interpretation. He is aiming more at what a man who subscribed the Articles might believe

than at what he must. He does not desire to prove that Catholic doctrine is insisted upon in them; it is enough for him to show that it is tolerated. It matters little if his interpretation is contrary to the known opinion of the compilers of the Articles. It was not a matter of knowing what they thought. "It is a *duty*," said Newman, "which we owe both to the Catholic Church and to our own to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit; we have no duties towards their framers." Moreover, in his opinion, this interpretation was not so contrary as might be expected to the intentions of the compilers. If these disavowed Popery, they desired to win over Papists, and was it not a good method to employ ambiguous language, that would reassure their consciences and make "their bark not so bad as their bite"? The author accordingly concludes that the Articles, although "the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's good Providence, to say the least, not uncatholic, and may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine." Newman realized the gravity of his attempt; the issue would decide how much of Catholicism Anglicanism could bear. It would be the "proving of the cannon" of which he had spoken a little earlier in a letter to Keble. If the reply were negative, then a decision of extreme importance might be imposed on consciences. "It was," he subsequently wrote, "a matter of life and death with us. . . . I recognized that I was engaged in an *experimentum crucis*."¹ Yet, if he knew that he was proposing a formidable question, he had no presentiment of the coming storm. He had submitted his work to Keble, who found in it nothing to criticize.

¹ *Apologia*.

Ward, it is true, had warned him that the *Tract* would put fire to the powder; he did not believe him, and as the first days after its publication passed without an explosion, he said to him, "You see, you are a false prophet." He little guessed that at that very moment the mine was on the point of exploding.

IV

On the morning of February 27, 1841, the date of the publication of *Tract* 90, Ward burst excitedly into his friend Tait's room at Balliol, and threw down a pamphlet on the table. "Here," he cried, "is something worth reading!" Tait was only half awake, and began to read; but soon finding his Protestant prejudices attacked and wounded, he jumped up, and hurried off to spread the alarm among his friends. Another member of the University was still more excited. This was Golightly, in former days a devoted follower of the Movement, but now one of its bitterest enemies, and so blinded by passion that he believed he ran a risk of being assailed and insulted in the streets by some Tractarians.¹ It was he, above all, who set things in motion. Owing to his efforts events marched very rapidly. On March 8 four senior Tutors of different Colleges, Tait being one of them, published a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Tracts for the Times*, in which the latest *Tract* was denounced as suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome were not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England, and giving no security that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 444.

the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the University. Two days later the question was taken up by the Heads of Houses, and brought before a committee for examination. In vain did Newman, avowing himself the author of the *Tract*, which like all the others, had appeared without signature, make known that he was going to present his defence to the committee. The latter, with undignified precipitation, refused to wait for this defence, and on March 15 pronounced its sentence. It declared that "modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said *Tract*, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned Statutes of the University." This was charging the author of the *Tract* not only with false opinions, but with a sort of disloyal trickery. To add greater force to this measure, the Vice-Chancellor immediately ordered the censure to be placarded on the buttery-hatch of every College in the University, this being the place where the names of dishonest shopkeepers were posted as a warning to the students not to deal with them. On the following day, March 16, Newman published in the form of a *Letter to Dr. Jelf*, one of the Canons of Christ Church, the defence which the impatience of his judges did not permit them to wait for. He maintained the necessity of interpreting the Articles in a Catholic sense, while at the same time repudiating "Roman errors," and in the following terms stated the motives that had induced him to write his *Tracts* :

"The age is moving," he said, "towards something, and most unhappily the one religious communion among us which has of late years been practically in possession of this something is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may be especially called Catholic. The question then is, whether we shall give them up to the Roman Church or claim them for ourselves, as we well may, by reverting to that older system, which has of late years indeed been superseded, but which has been, and is, quite congenial (to say the least), I should rather say proper and natural, or even necessary to our Church. But if we do give them up we must give up the men who cherish them. We must consent either to give up the men or to admit the principles. *Tract 90* allows of the possibility of understanding the Articles in a broader sense than that generally admitted, and this development is needful for the minds of a great many. By putting a limited sense upon them the risk is run of losing those most esteemed, who are already tempted to join the Church of Rome."

What was the effect upon Newman of these violent and sudden proceedings of the Heads of Houses? "I was quite unprepared for the outbreak," he himself related afterwards, "and I was startled by its violence. I do not think I had any fear." His letters at this period reveal his state of mind. At the time of the first threats he declares that "he does not repent," and "does not fear for his cause." He writes on March 13: "That it will turn to good I doubt not; but we have been too prosperous. I am only sorry that any friends should suffer through me." On March 15, whilst the Heads of Houses were deliberating, he says: "I try to prepare myself for the worst. As yet I am as quiet and happy as I could wish." At the first news of the censure on the same

day, he adds: "The Heads, I believe, have just done a violent act; they have said that my interpretation of the Articles is an *evasion*. Do not think that this will pain me. You see no *doctrine* is censured, and my shoulders shall manage to bear the charge. If you knew all, or when you know, you will see that I have asserted a great principle, and I ought to suffer for it." On the next day: "I have quite enough, thank God, to keep me from inward trouble; no one ever did a great thing without suffering." On March 21: "I now am in my right place, which I have long wished to be in, which I did not know how to attain, and which has been brought about without my intention. I hope I may say providentially, though I am perfectly aware at the same time that it is a rebuke and punishment for my secret pride and sloth. . . . I cannot anticipate what will be the result of it in this place or elsewhere as regards *myself*. Somehow I do not fear for the *cause*." Again, on March 25, he says: "Things seem going on tolerably . . . but we must not crow till we are out of the wood."¹ Pusey, on his side, writes on March 17: "Newman is very calm."

The author of *Tract 90* felt around him the sympathy of his followers and friends, both known and unknown, who manifested their feeling all the more strongly as they felt he had been unjustly treated. Keble wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University to associate himself with Newman. Pusey, though slightly disconcerted at the publication of what was beyond his views at the time,² was nevertheless indignant at the proceedings employed

¹ *Apologia; Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 326, 336.

² Later, after Newman's conversion, Pusey fully adopted his ideas of *Tract 90*, and, to show his approval the more openly, he undertook to edit and republish it.

against his friend, and did not hesitate to take up his defence. He admired Newman's attitude. "Newman," he writes, "can bear the heat of the day alone. He to whom he commits himself will bring his innocence to light sooner or later. . . . When the storm is over, people who can appreciate him will respect him the more." Newman was even surprised by the warm approval of certain High Churchmen, such as Hook, Percival, Moberly, Palmer, who disagreed with him on more than one occasion—as, for instance, on the publication of Froude's *Remains*. This sympathy induced him to write on April 4: "It is most pleasant, too, to my feelings to have such a testimony to the substantial truth and importance of No. 90 as I have had from so many of my friends, from those who from their cautious turn of mind I was least sanguine about."¹

But if Newman's friends were indignant at the way in which he had been treated by the University authorities, his opponents felt encouraged. The Protestant party was on the verge of an explosion of fanaticism arising out of a feeling of mingled anger and panic. The censure directed against *Tract 90* caused it to appear as the proof and manifestation of a Romanist plot which the controversies of the preceding year made people suspect behind the Tractarian Movement, which was again denounced by Lord Morpeth in the House of Commons. Few among those who became alarmed and indignant took the trouble to examine or discuss the historical or theological arguments of the *Tract*. On the authority of the Heads of the Colleges, they saw in it a sort of

¹ *Apologia ; Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 326-344 ; *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., *passim*.

ambiguous and perfidious subtlety, the plotting of a masked traitor who sought to betray the Church he pretended to defend. Englishmen love to boast of frankness, pride themselves on "fair play," and are ever ready to claim the monopoly of it. The accusation brought against Newman was in their eyes one of the worst. From *Tract* 90 dates that suspicion of dishonesty and even of "Jesuitism"¹ which was for a long time to hang over the most sincere and sensitive of men, until the day, in 1864, when, moved by an eloquent and avenging indignation, he victoriously cleared himself of the libel by his immortal *Apologia*. Notwithstanding the offensiveness of these accusations, they would not have succeeded in destroying Newman's tranquillity, or the confidence which, as we have seen, he showed beneath the blows of censure. He was more concerned with the possible attitude of the bishops. His opponents, Golightly and others, strongly urged them to interfere. The Bishop of Oxford, whom the matter affected especially, was greatly embarrassed. He made no secret of his disapprobation of the *Tract*, but he wished to spare the author, of whom he thought highly, and he would not associate himself with those who doubted his loyalty to the Church. He consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury, who advised him to check a dangerous controversy, and to avoid giving Newman and his friends any opportunity for prolonging it. In his estimation peace was much better than any explanation. On March 17, the day after the censure,

¹ Pusey expressed his "fear" that the impression might remain in people's minds of the "Jesuitism" of the Tractarians (*Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 334). Ward, for his part, declared that many seem to consider the *Tract* as "a Jesuitical play upon words" (*W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 167).

negotiations began between the Bishop of Oxford and Newman. They were brought about principally by Pusey's intervention, and were painfully prolonged for a fortnight. The bishop, influenced by the hostile cabal, wished to obtain the suppression and disavowal of the *Tract*. Newman resisted. He would obey a formal command, but in that case would resign his living. This threat alarmed the bishop. The matter ended in a compromise. Newman consented to discontinue the *Tracts*, but *Tract* 90 was neither suppressed nor condemned, and the better to indicate this, a new edition was printed and circulated with explanatory notes.¹ On March 31 Newman published a long letter to his bishop, the text of which had previously been approved. In it he explained the doctrine of the *Tract* without withdrawing anything, but insisting on all he had said against Rome: By his submission to the express desire of the bishops to stop the *Tracts*, Newman hoped to be able to give a proof of the high idea he had formed of a bishop's authority and of his attachment to the Church. "I have nothing to be sorry for," he said, "except having made your Lordship anxious, and others whom I am bound to revere. I have nothing to be sorry for, but everything to rejoice in and be thankful for. I have never taken pleasure in seeming to be able to move a party, and whatever influence I have had has been found, not sought after. I have acted because others did not act, and have sacrificed a quiet which I prized. May God be with me in time to come, as He has been hitherto! And He will be, if I can keep my hand clean and my heart pure. I think I can bear, or

¹ On the negotiations, see *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 183 *et seq.*; *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 337, 338.

at least will try to bear, any personal humiliation, so that I am preserved from betraying sacred interests, which the Lord of grace and power has given into my charge." The bishop wrote to thank and congratulate him: "It is a comfort to me, too (now that a calm has, as I hope, succeeded the threatened storm), to feel assured that, though I have, perhaps, caused pain to one in whom I feel much interest, and for whom I have a great regard, you will never regret having written that letter to me." Newman on his side says that the bishop "has been as kind as possible to him."¹

Newman realized that he had abdicated. "I saw, indeed, clearly," he related afterwards, "that my place in the Movement was lost." From one point of view he had no regret. The mistrust of himself and his ideas had gained upon him since his recent internal crisis, and the fact of being obliged to retire from the field of battle caused him a sort of relief. As he himself says, it appeared "that a kind Providence had saved me from an impossible position in the future."² It was not that his interest in the schemes for which he had laboured so assiduously had diminished, but he flattered himself that by his resistance he had saved his *Tract* from Episcopal condemnation, and had assured to the doctrines which he promulgated, if not the approbation, at least the tolerance, of the heads of the Church. And, besides, he hoped by his own silence to obtain that of his opponents. It was a treaty of peace, or at least a truce, which he imagined had been concluded.³

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 337, 343.

² *Apologia*.

³ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 341, 342.

V

The hopes that had induced Newman to stop the *Tracts* were not of long duration. Instead of the peace he expected, a war more violent than ever continued. In April, May, and the following months, successive publications of the two parties appeared in opposition to one another. A Tutor named Nilson, Professor Faussett, and Robert Lowe—who was to make his mark in the political world, the “Liberal” of the *Edinburgh Review*—raged against *Tract* 90, and insisted upon its dishonesty. They all, more or less, developed the views which Arnold expressed in the following terms: “My feelings towards a Roman Catholic are quite different from my feelings towards a Newmanite, because I think the one a fair enemy, the other a treacherous one. The one is a Frenchman in his own uniform, and within his own præsidia; the other is the Frenchman disguised in a red coat, and holding a post within our præsidia for the purpose of betraying it. I should honour the first, and hang the second.”¹

In default of Newman, who stood aloof, Keble, Pusey, Palmer, Hook, Ward, and Oakeley, took up in turn the defence of the *Tract* in various ways. Pusey justified the interpretation given to the Articles by the Catholic ideas which he attributed to the Reformers. He loved to shield himself under the authority of the Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century, and laid stress on what separated him from Rome. Ward, on the contrary, brought forward clearly, even bluntly, all that the *Tract* had veiled

¹ Letters of October 30, 1841 (*Life of Thomas Arnold*, by Stanley, vol. ii., p. 245).

rom motives of prudence and discretion. He admitted that the Reformers held anti-Catholic sentiments, and proclaimed that he himself interpreted the Articles "in a non-natural sense." Without denying the "practical corruptions" with which Newman reproached the Church of Rome, he endeavoured to attenuate and efface the distinction made between Roman error and Catholic truth. He did not conceal that that Church appeared to him in many ways superior to the Church of England, whose miserable condition and sin of rebellion he admitted. Pusey and Ward were sincere in striving to explain Newman's ideas; the former was bent upon "minimizing" so as to give no opening to Protestant prejudice, whilst the latter strove to push them to their most extreme conclusions, and thus to answer the reproach of subtilty, inconsistency, and duplicity.

The University authorities naturally threw all their weight on the side of the opponents of the *Tract*, and treated with suspicion those young men who "were tainted with Tractarianism." Ward was forced to resign his position of Lecturer in Mathematics and Logic at Balliol College. Church was warned by the Provost of Oriel that he could no longer hold his tutorship. By this means the undergraduates were warned that, if they continued to adhere to Newman, they could no longer hope for Fellowships. Not a few, either through ambition or timidity, withdrew from the suspected party. Moreover, as if to indicate all the more emphatically to the younger generation that favour and influence were no longer on Newman's side, at the very moment that the latter abdicated his bitterest opponent made a triumphant entry into Oxford. At the close of 1841, Thomas Arnold was appointed Regius

Professor of Modern History. At his opening lecture on December 2, the crowd was so vast that they had to remove to the Sheldonian Theatre. Church wrote to Rogers that the great lion of the day was Arnold, and that his lectures had created a great stir in the literary and fashionable world of Oxford. This success seemed to mark the accession of a new influence among the University undergraduates. It was not, however, of long duration. Shortly afterwards, in June, 1842, Arnold died suddenly of *angina pectoris*.

However painful this sudden change in Oxford was to Newman, he always attached far greater importance to the attitude of the Episcopate. If in his negotiations with the Bishop of Oxford he had consented to suspend the *Tracts*, it was entirely for the purpose of avoiding the risk of Episcopal condemnation for them, and he believed that he had obtained more or less formal assurances upon this subject. But in the Charges published in the autumn of 1841 several bishops censured *Tract* 90. The signal once given, others followed; it was like the firing of a train of gunpowder. In August, 1842, no less than forty-two bishops could be reckoned amongst those who had censured the *Tract*; yet the end had not been reached. They did not all, it is true, go so far as to declare, like one of them, that *Tract* 90 was "Satan's masterpiece"; but all severely repudiated an interpretation of the Articles which seemed to them tainted with Romanism, disloyalty to the Church, and likely to encourage schism and apostasy. The Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had at first refused to condemn the Tractarians, and endeavoured, whilst rejecting the doctrine of the *Tract*, to put an end to the controversy, now yielded to the general outburst.

Dr. Phillpots, Bishop of Exeter, the most High Church Bishop of the Episcopate, declared that the *Tract* was offensive and unbecoming to the Church, entirely out of place, and unjust to the Reformers. Finally, the Bishop of Oxford himself, in disregard of the engagement which Newman believed he had entered into with him, thought it no longer possible to keep silence. His Charge contained, along with some compliments to the Tractarians, a repudiation of the interpretation given to the Articles. The declarations of the bishops were not merely general censures without any practical effect. Bishop Blomfield of London, who was one of the most moderate among them, said in the presence of several young clergymen: "After having read *Tract* 90, no power on earth can persuade me to ordain anyone who holds systematically these opinions." And he refused ordination to several who were suspected of holding the opinions of the new school in regard to the Eucharist and other matters.¹ The Bishop of Winchester refused to admit to the priesthood the Rev. Peter Young, Keble's curate, because he held the same views upon the Real Presence as the latter and Pusey. Keble, generally so placid, protested, and thought seriously of resigning his living.² Doubt was thus no longer possible. What the bishops so loudly repudiated was clearly the Catholic interpretation of the Articles and the whole Catholic doctrine of the Tractarians, and they declared that there was no room in their Church for those who held such opinions.

At the same period, and as if to avoid any illusion with regard to her true character, the Church of England pro-

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 377.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 350, 390.

claimed herself by a public act in communion with the Lutherans and Calvinists. At the suggestion of Baron Bunsen, the Prussian Minister, and with the approbation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, the Government passed a Bill, towards the end of 1841, establishing an Anglican Bishop for Jerusalem. This bishop, chosen alternately by England and by Prussia, and consecrated by English bishops, was to exercise his jurisdiction over Protestants of other confessions who desired to place themselves under his authority without being obliged to reject their own particular beliefs or to give their adhesion to the Church of England. It was impossible to proclaim more openly a desire to be joined to the Continental heresies, and to attribute no importance to dogmatic differences. Arnold thus understood the matter, and was triumphant at seeing the Episcopate accept and act upon an idea which he had long held—viz., that “a national Church might include persons using a different ritual and subscribing different articles.”¹ Newman, on the contrary, did not cease in his correspondence and conversation to mention what he called “this atrocious Jerusalem Bishopric affair.” “I am convinced,” he said, “that this affair will do more to unchurch us than all the events that have occurred for the last three hundred years.” Desirous as he was to keep aloof, he believed it his duty to address a solemn protest to his bishop against this compromise with heresy, which deprived his Church of her claim to be considered a branch of the Catholic Church, thus withdrawing from her all “claim on the allegiance of Catholic believers.”

¹ *Life of Thomas Arnold*, vol. ii., letter of September 21, 1841.

VI

The crisis which the Tractarian Movement underwent became daily more serious, and was bound to attract the attention of clear-sighted Catholics, and, above all, of the man who almost alone among his co-religionists showed from the outset a sympathetic understanding. Wiseman had for some time enjoyed a position which enabled him to observe the course of events more closely and to intervene in them more effectually than before. In 1840, as the result of a Pontifical decision, the number of Vicars-Apostolic in England had been increased from four to eight, and he had been nominated, under the title of Bishop of Melipotamus, as coadjutor of the Vicar-Apostolic of the central district and President of Oscott College, near Birmingham. "Bless, O Lord," he said as he stepped on English soil, "my entry into this land of my desires."¹ Everything had prepared him for the part he was about to play—an almost European reputation, many friendships, an open, generous, and brilliant intellect, and the elevated point of view from which he had hitherto observed the religious problem both abroad and at home. He at once determined not to occupy himself solely with the direction of Oscott, but to keep a close watch over outside affairs, especially in Oxford. "No," he said, as he walked in front of his college, "it was not to educate a few boys that this was erected, but to be the rallying-point of the yet silent but vast movement towards the Catholic Church which has commenced and must prosper."²

Deeply interested in *Tract* 90 and the controversy which

¹ *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, by Wilfrid Ward, vol. i., p. 341.

² *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 348.

followed it, Wiseman deemed that the time had come for Catholics to take a forward step, and he set the example by a letter addressed to Newman. With great tact and sympathy he protested against the distinction made in the *Tract* between the official doctrine of the Roman Church and certain corrupt practices tolerated by her. Newman left Palmer to reply. In the meantime Wiseman strove, through the agency of two converts, Mr. Lisle Phillips and Mr. Pugin, the architect, to enter into communication with the Romanizing Tractarians, Ward, Oakeley, and Bloxam. He did not despair of being able to reach Newman himself. He wrote letters to Mr. Phillips which were intended to be shown in Oxford, and in which he tried to enlighten misunderstandings and to disarm prejudice. He endeavoured to explain the alliance of Catholics with O'Connell, and replied to those Tractarians who had urged that Catholics ought to begin by reforming themselves, that "*Our* reformation is in *their* hands. . . . Let us have but even a small number of such men as write in the *Tracts* . . . let even a few such men, with the high clerical feeling which I believe them to possess, enter fully into the spirit of the Catholic religion, and we shall be speedily reformed, and England quickly converted. I am ready to acknowledge that in all things, except the happiness of possessing the truth and being in communion with God's true Church, and employing the advantage and blessings that flow thence, we are their inferiors. It is not to you that I say this for the first time, I have long said it to those about me—that if the Oxford Divines entered the Church we must be ready to fall into the shade, and take up our position in the background."

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¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 385, 386.

Wiseman anxiously awaited the result of his letters, and great was his joy when some of the Tractarians came to visit him at Oscott. Equally great was his sorrow when to a letter to Newman he received an answer which he could only term "distressing." Thus, passing through alternatives of hope and discouragement, impelled by the generous though somewhat impetuous ardour of his nature to put himself forward, but, on the other hand, clear-sighted enough to know that by too prompt an advance he risked startling and compromising those whom he wished to gain, Wiseman was still the more perturbed by the fact that these events were taking place in a world inaccessible to him, though he knew that, independently of his own action, a mysterious force was working surely and powerfully in the depths of men's souls. "I can assure you that what appears on the surface is nothing to what is working in the deep. The Tractarians are every day becoming more and more disgusted with Anglicanism, its barrenness, its shallowness, and its 'stammering' teaching. Their advance is so steady, regular, and unanimous, that one of two things must follow: either they will bring or push on their Church with them, or they will leave her behind."¹

The difficulties with which Wiseman had to contend did not arise from the side of Anglicanism alone. The greater number of English Catholics, under the influence of distrust and inveterate hostility, could not always be convinced that any good could come from their former persecutors. Wiseman's hopes appeared to them fantastical, and his measures compromising. Even at Oscott his ideas were regarded in this light. His best friends

¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, pp. 387, 388.

thought it necessary to warn him, and the historian Lingard reminded him of the deception of those who, in the time of Laud, had allowed themselves to entertain a similar hope. Others, again, made no scruple of denouncing him to Rome. These were the dominant feelings in the Catholic newspapers. In a pamphlet entitled, *Are the Puseyites sincere?* a priest wrote: "The embrace of Dr. Newman is the kiss that will betray us." Wiseman deplored an attitude that seemed bound to prevent all reconciliation. In opposition to the doubts and mistrust of his co-religionists, he constantly affirmed, both in his letters and in his conversation, the sincerity, purity of intention, and high virtues of Newman and his friends.

According to his custom, Wiseman thought that the best means to face the difficulties, both from the Anglican as well as from the Catholic side, was to make a public explanation. Therefore, in the form of a letter to a prominent Catholic, the Earl of Shrewsbury, in September, 1841, he examined the different questions aroused by the religious crisis in England, and defended himself against those who regarded him as a "visionary" because of the importance he attached to the movement of reconciliation on the part of "the Oxford Theologians." He quoted as his authority Bossuet, who regarded it as a duty to enter upon a serious discussion with Leibnitz concerning the possibility of the reunion of Germany with the Roman Church. He laid stress upon the facts which proved that not only did individuals approach closer to Catholic dogmas and practices, but that a tendency existed towards "corporate reunion." To those who supposed it to be an interested manœuvre, and that the sole desire of the

Anglicans was to borrow from Catholics enough strength to maintain their Church without any desire for further advances, he replied that this suspicion was unjust and ungrounded, and was based upon ignorance of the true character and feelings of these writers. In proof of his assertion he quoted at length from Newman and Ward. He pointed out their extreme dissatisfaction with the Anglican Church, and that not merely with her faults, but, as he says, "it is an impatient sickness of the whole; it is the weariness of a man who carries a burthen—it is not of any individual stick of his faggot that he complains; it is the bundle which tires and worries him." After having thus brought to notice this attitude of the Anglicans, he continues:

"I need not ask *you* whether they ought to be met with any other feeling than sympathy, kindness, and offers of hearty co-operation. Ought we to sit down coldly, while such sentiments are breathed in our hearing, and rise not up to bid the mourner have hope? Are we who sit in the full light to see our friends feeling their way towards us through the gloom that surrounds them, and faltering for want of an outstretched hand, or turning astray for want of a directing voice; and sit on, and keep silent, amusing ourselves at their painful efforts, or perhaps allow them to hear, from time to time, only the suppressed laugh of one who triumphs over their distress? God forbid! If one *must* err, if, in mere tribute to humanity, one must needs make a false step, one's fall will be more easy when on the side of two theological virtues, than when on the cold, bare earth of human prudence. If I shall have been both too hopeful of my motives and too charitable in my dealings, I will take my chance of smiles at my simplicity, both on earth and in heaven. Those of the latter at least are never scornful."

Wiseman used great caution in speaking of Catholic practices that might awaken Anglican prejudices; he

avoided disavowing his co-religionists, but refused to admit the impossibility of reform. That Catholics should grow in perfection and charity appeared to him of primary importance. "Harshness of language, sarcasm and bitterness, will not either convince the understanding or win the affections." He did not seek to hide the difficulties that had to be faced.

"The way is dreary and wearisome; the promised land lies beyond a desert; in this there will be rough rocks and flat sands, each difficult to pass for different reasons—the one will require energy, the other unwearied, plodding perseverance; there will be fiery serpents and decoying seducers; there will be cursing prophets and armed giants; there will be waterless wastes and bitter fountains; there will be disappointment, and murmuring and falling back; the tables may be more than once dashed to the ground and broken, and again rewritten; and at last there may be death on Nebo, in wistful sight, without hope of personal possession, of 'the land o'erflowing with milk and honey.' Thank God our manna will not fail us, nor our hopes, nor our trust in the Lord of Israel."

Newman and his friends had certainly ground for reflection upon the contrast between the tone in which this Catholic bishop spoke of them and the language employed at this very period by their own bishops. It cannot be said, however, that at the time this publication exercised any great influence upon the conduct of the Tractarians. It none the less did honour to its author, and disengaged his cause from the narrow and perilous paths into which others strove to mislead it. It laid down a programme and gave a lesson which English Catholics of to-day could not do better than accept.

VII

Newman was surprised and deeply wounded by the Episcopal censures. Many Anglican writers have thought that in this lay the explanation of his change of religion. If they intend to infer that this change was the effect of a sort of resentment their judgment is not correct, for Newman could write, at the time of his conversion, that he was not aware of any resentment. But it is true that his confidence in the English Church was greatly shaken by the behaviour of her bishops. "Oh, Pusey," he said shortly afterwards to his friend, "we have leant on the Bishops, and they have broken down under us!"¹ In *Tract* 90 he had wished to test whether his Church could bear the amount of Catholic truth which he judged indispensable to the true Church of Christ. The authorized heads of that Church answered that she neither could nor would, and at the same time, by the constitution of the Jerusalem Bishopric, declared their desire to be in communion with heretics.

In spite of all this, Newman still refused definitely to condemn a Church which he had for so long revered as his mother. He once more laboriously resumed, upon a still narrower basis, the work upon which he had spent all his energy for years past—of endeavouring to establish the titles of Anglicanism. Upon the ruins and broken fragments of his first systems he endeavoured to erect a humbler edifice, but one which might appear habitable. Being forced to acknowledge that the position of his Church was abnormal, he tried to persuade himself that at least it was legitimate, and that one could and ought

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 237.

to remain faithful to her. He did not admit the idea of an individual conversion to the Roman Church, and he still continued to denounce her "abuses" and "corruptions." He considered it his duty to use his authority over his followers to prevent any such conversion. His correspondence shows that at this time he was much occupied with these precautions.¹ It is to Newman that Pusey writes to retain some of his friends who were tempted to pass over to Rome.² His intervention was generally effectual. At this period only one, who was not an intimate friend, escaped him. Sibthorpe, a Fellow of Magdalen, who visited Oscott without any thought of abjuration, returned a few days later, to the amazement of all, as a Roman Catholic. After so premature and hurried a conversion he reverted at the end of two years to Anglicanism.³

Newman, greatly disturbed by this defection, and anxious to warn his own followers against so disastrous an example, spoke about it in severe terms. He did not consider it sufficient to do this in his private letters: he determined to deal with the subject in the pulpit, and in December, 1841, in a series of four sermons, he attempted to prove that the Anglican Church, in spite of her weaknesses, had still sufficient claim to the fidelity of her children. In this light he brought out a new theory, the similitude of Samaria. If, unhappily, his Church were a separated one, he thought it impossible

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 346, 348, etc.

² *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 229.

³ Sibthorpe returned a second time to Catholicism in 1864, and died in that communion in 1879 (*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i., p. 202).

to regard her as if she had never been a Church. "She was," he says, "Samaria." He then recalled how, in spite of their open schism, the rebel tribes of the kingdom of Israel were still reckoned as God's people; how God had sent them the prophets Elisha and Elijah; how, at the time when so many miracles were worked before them, neither the multitude on Mount Carmel nor the Shunamite and her household received any command to separate from her people and to be reconciled with the race of David, or to go to Jerusalem to worship; how, in a word, the subjects of Israel, without being in the Church, had nevertheless preserved the means of salvation. Even more still than Samaria had the Anglican Church preserved marks of a Divine presence and life. He declared that this was proved daily by the reception of the Sacrament, and particularly by the bedsides of the dying. He concludes by saying that this Church is either within the alliance or, being out of the alliance, enjoys extraordinary graces; consequently, even if one must admit that she is not a portion of the true Church, one is not bound to leave her for Rome, any more than the subjects of Israel were bound to leave Samaria for Jerusalem. The words which end these sermons betray the effort with which the preacher sought to make himself and others accept this last attempt to justify his Church. "What do we want," he says, "if it is not faith in our Church? With faith we can do all things, without faith we can do nothing. If we have secret misgivings towards it, all is lost; we lose nerve, power, position, hope. A cold discouragement, an uneasy mind, a melancholy and sorrowful humour, an indolence and lukewarmness, surrounds, penetrates, and oppresses us. Let it not be so

for us! Take good courage. Let us accept our Church as the gift of God for us. Let us imitate him who, on the borders of the Jordan, took the mantle that Elias let fall, and struck the waters, saying, 'Where is the Lord God of Elias?' This Church is as the mantle of Elias, a relic of him who has been carried above." Doubtless Newman was not blinded to the fact that in comparing Rome to Jerusalem, and the Church of England to Samaria, "he was lowering the level of his Church and weakening the foundations of her controversy." But he did not feel he had power to do better. It was like a last entrenchment raised hurriedly for the purpose of prolonging the resistance.

Newman made it a point of honour to affirm the duty of every Anglican to remain in his own Church to his Catholic correspondents. He visibly sought, for his part, to discourage hopes which he perceived to be increasing, and which disturbed him. "That my *sympathies* have grown towards the religion of Rome I do not deny; that my *reasons* for *shunning* her communion have lessened or altered it would be difficult, perhaps, to prove. And I wish to go by reason, not by feeling." Another day he adds: "And now I fear that I am going to pain you by telling you that you consider the approaches in doctrine on my part towards you closer than they really are." He consents to consider the possibility of the union of the Churches, but at a later period. This union appears to him impossible so long as Rome does not reform herself. He writes constantly to one of his Catholic correspondents: "Many among you say that *we* are your greatest enemies; we have said so ourselves. So we are; so we shall be as long as things stand at present." "In the meantime" he

declares "that he cannot listen to the thought of his followers passing individually into the Roman Church." He adds: "We have too great a horror of the principle of private judgment to trust it in so immense a matter." And in another letter: "I know that it is quite within the range of possibilities that one or another of our people should go over to your communion; however, it would be a greater misfortune to you than grief to us. If your friends wish to put a gulf between themselves and us let them make converts, but not else." It was plain that Newman was inflexible when speaking to Catholics, and especially to priests. He is precisely the same man who a year previously had received Spencer so badly. This reserve became still more marked if he detected the least design to influence his inmost thoughts at this critical stage. Wiseman experienced this on the occasion when he wrote directly to him. "I was very stern," said Newman, after his conversion, "upon any interference in our Oxford matters on the part of charitable Catholics, and on any attempt to do me good personally. There was nothing, indeed, at the time more likely to throw me back. Why do you meddle? Why cannot you let me alone? You do me no good; you know nothing on earth about me; you may actually do me harm; I am in better hands than yours." Of all the Catholic priests then in relations with Newman one alone touched his heart; this was Dr. Russell, afterwards President of Maynooth. Affable, discreet, moderate in controversy, he avoided speaking of the current questions, but left him to his own reflections, contenting himself with sending some books that might throw light upon the supposed abuses for which Rome was blamed. Newman has said of him in his *Apologia*: "He

had, perhaps, more to do with my conversion than anyone else."¹

Firm and inflexible as Newman appeared to be when facing those whom he regarded as enemies, he was far from being so when face to face with himself and his own thoughts. He could not prevent himself from asking if, after all, his arguments were really solid, and if Rome were not in the right. He has since related how, during the summer of 1841, the doubt of 1839 returned; how "the Ghost had come a second time"; how in his study of the Arians he had suddenly found the same phenomenon as he had two years previously met with in the Monophysites; how he had seen clearly that "the pure Arians were the Protestants, that the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what it was." This gleam of light was not more lasting than that of 1839; this time also Samuel did not recognize the voice of God, but his trouble and anxiety were augmented. Sometimes it is in a friendly conversation or correspondence that he betrays himself. Thus one evening, chatting with his curate Isaac Williams, Newman said, to the latter's great scandal, that he thought the Church of Rome was right and they were wrong, so much so that they ought to join it. Another day he confided to Robert Wilberforce "that, as regards his Anglicanism, perhaps he might break down in the event, and that perhaps they were both out of the Church." "I don't think I was ever so shocked by any communication," answered Wilberforce, "which was ever made to me as by your letter."² Ordinarily he

¹ Letters of April 8 and 26, May 5, June 18, and September 12 1841 (*Apologia*).

² *Apologia*.

refuses to say anything to commit him. Although refraining, through the motives mentioned above, from thinking for the moment of leaving his Church, he no longer repeats what he lately loved to say: "An Anglican I was born, and an Anglican I will die." To a friend, W. R. Church, who asked him for an assurance of this kind, he writes, on December 25, 1841: "Should not M. and the like see that it is unwise, unfair, and impatient to ask others, What will you do under circumstances which have not, which may never come? . . . I speak most sincerely when I say that they are things which I neither contemplate nor wish to contemplate, but when I am asked about them ten times, at length I begin to contemplate them. . . . Is it not our safest course, without looking to consequences, to do simply *what we think right* day by day?"¹ To his friend Hope he wrote on October 17, 1841: "Candidly I own that the Bishops' Charges (upon *Tract* 90) are very serious matters. . . . I cannot deny that a great and anxious *experiment* is going on, whether our Church be or be not Catholic; the issue may not be in our day. But I must be plain in saying that, if it does issue in Protestantism I shall think it my duty, if alive, to leave it. . . . I fear I must say that I am beginning to think that the only way to keep in the English Church is steadily to contemplate and act upon the possibility of leaving it." Later on, after his conversion, when he could give a more satisfactory account than at the time of the crisis he had gone through at the end of 1841, he says: "I was on my death-bed as regards my membership with the Anglican Church."

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 355, 356.

VIII

Newman's anxiety could only be intensified by the increasing divisions which he saw among his friends. He had written *Tract* go with the intention of checking the more ardent and rendering Anglicanism possible to them. The condemnation of the *Tract* naturally produced the contrary effect. The ardent followers of the Movement, far from being checked, were pushed in the direction to which they already inclined. The weakness of Anglicanism appeared more manifest to them, and they felt still more the superiority of Roman Catholicism. Ward and Oakeley, in the *British Critic*, which had become their organ, violently attacked the Reformation, emphasizing what was lacking in their Church, and drawing a comparison between it and the Church of Rome, which always ended to the advantage of the latter. They had not determined any more than Newman to change their communion, but their language was none the less threatening. "We cannot remain," wrote Oakeley, "where we are; we must either go back or advance, and surely it will be the latter that we shall choose." Ward developed the same ideas, but with still less reserve, in those provocative and good-humoured conversations which echoed through the Common Rooms.

Ward and his friends, in the meantime, were in affectionate correspondence and exchanged visits with two Catholic converts, Pugin and Phillips, who acted as Wiseman's intermediaries. They conferred with them upon the means of bringing about a reunion of the two Churches; they met several times at Oscott, in 1841, to converse with Wiseman, visited the Cistercian Monastery of Gr^âce-Dieu,

were present at service there, and returned delighted with everything they saw.¹ It was not by these private overtures alone that they fraternized with Papists. On April 13, 1841, the Paris *L'Univers* published a long letter, which was at once reproduced and commented on by the Catholic newspapers of Europe, the author of which, who remained anonymous, was supposed to be a young member of the University of Oxford. This letter was, in fact, written by Ward, assisted by Dalgairns. It began by enumerating the signs which, especially in Oxford, seemed to indicate the union of the Anglican with the Catholic Church; then, recalling the declarations and avowals of *Tract 90*, it adds: "You see, then, that humility, the first condition of every sound reform, is not wanting in us. We are little satisfied with our position; we groan at the sins committed by our ancestors in separating from the Catholic world. We experience a burning desire to be reunited with our brethren. We love with unfeigned affection the Apostolic See, which we acknowledge to be the head of Christendom. . . . We also acknowledge that it is neither our formulas or the Council of Trent that prevent a reunion." The reunion that the writers had in view in this letter was solely a corporate reunion. As to particular conversions, he warns Catholics not to expect them, and rather to occupy themselves with their own reform. "Let them show us," he says, "what we have not, the image of a Church perfect in discipline and in morals . . . let them, in fine, have among them a saint like the Seraph of Assisi, and the heart of England is

¹ See the two works of Wilfrid Ward—*W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 190-201; *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 371, 372, 381, 389, 395, 397.

already gained." He concludes by asking their prayers. "Know that many of us stretch out our hands day and night before the Lord, and beg of Him with sighs and groans to reunite us to our Catholic brethren. Frenchmen, fail not to help us in this holy work, and I am convinced that few Lenten seasons will pass before we sing together our Paschal hymns, in those sublime phrases of which, during so many centuries, the divine Bride of Christ has made use."

As soon as it was known in England, this letter gave rise to an outburst of feeling. British susceptibilities were particularly wounded that the writers of the letter should assume to make in the name of the Church of England a confession of their distress to foreign Catholics.

The more the over-zealous compromised themselves, the more did they find themselves separated from the moderate section of the Tractarians. Pusey took alarm, and made an effort to bring back those whom he saw thus estranged. He applied to Ward for explanations, and remonstrated with him. The latter sincerely revered Pusey, but answered him in the tone of a man who did not much mind incurring his disapproval. Far from denying the cleavage, he declared that his only reason for speaking was to prevent Newman's ideas from being judged by Pusey's interpretation. Far from defending himself against the opinions for which he had been reproached, he gloried in them, and laid stress upon his disgust at the miseries of Anglicanism, his admiration for Rome, and his desire for union with her. He repeated, indeed, that he did not anticipate his own individual conversion, but refused Pusey's request for "a distinct pledge that he would not join the Roman Church." According to him, many

were as convinced as he was "of the corruption and imperfection" of the Anglican Church, and but for their confidence in Newman "they could not believe that she was a true Church at all." Moreover, he asserted his conformity with Newman's views, as Newman himself expressed them, either spontaneously or in answer to the questions he had put to him. He added that he was ready to abandon any opinion not admitted by Newman.¹

The reception his observations received from Ward did not reassure Pusey. Those who met him noticed that he daily grew more preoccupied and sadder. One Sunday his mother found him in tears.² He felt, moreover, that suspicions of Romanism extended to everyone connected with the Movement, not omitting even himself. During the vacation of 1841 he made a tour in Ireland to study on the spot conventual life, which he wished to introduce into his own Church. This absence gave occasion for insinuations that he also was about to become a traitor, which so alarmed his friends that they begged him to write a letter of denial which they might circulate. But let us do Pusey the justice that he did not seek to be restored to favour by his repudiating now compromising friends. It was not only his beloved Newman for whose defence he pledged himself before the High Churchmen who criticized him,³ but he even defended extreme men, who paid so little heed to his representations, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated February, 1842. This letter was more affecting and pathetic than the ordinary run of his letters. The theory that he supports is that the

¹ *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, chap. viii., *passim*.

² *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 247.

³ See, for example, a letter from Pusey to the Rev. E. Churton (*Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 269).

bishops created the evil of which they complain, or in any case aggravated it by their censures.

“The repose of our once peaceful villages is broken up; the most stable part of our population unsettled; the less thoughtful seem to look forwards to some evil which is to come upon them unawares; ‘we are all, it seems (to use their own language), to become Papists’; and so they are prepared to desert our Church when occasion offers; others are taught to mistrust the Ministers who have been labouring among them for years; if former negligences are anywhere repaired, the negligent have the popular cry ready for their plea; the serious and earnest-minded stand aghast, looking in sorrowful perplexity, what all this can mean. If this goes on, my Lord, where is it to end? If our own Bishops and others encouraged by them say to us—sore as it is to repeat, they are their own words—‘Get thee hence, Satan’—while those of the Roman Communion pray for us and invite us, is it not sorely adding to the temptations, I say not of ourselves, but of younger men? . . . If we are thus singled out from the rest of our Lord’s flock, as diseased and tainted sheep, who must be kept separate from the rest lest we corrupt them; if a mark is thus set upon us and we are disowned, things cannot abide thus. For us, who are elder, it might be easy to retire from the weary strife, if it should be ever necessary, into lay-communion, or seek some other branch of our Church, which would receive us; but for the young, whose feelings are not bound up with their Church by the habits and services of many years, and to whom labouring in her service is not become a second nature, an element in our existence, their sympathies will have vent, and, if they find themselves regarded as outcasts from their Church—to a Church they must belong, and they will seek Rome. . . . Among those, in whose minds serious misgivings have been raised, are not merely what would be ordinarily called ‘young men’; there are, one may say, some of the flower of the English Church, persons whose sense of dutifulness binds them to her, who would, to use the language of one of them, ‘feel it to be, of course, their duty to abide in her as long as they could.’ What we

fear is not generally a momentary ebullition, but rather lest the thought of seceding from our Church should gradually become familiar to people's minds . . . lest a deep despondency about ourselves and our Church come over people's minds, and they abandon her, as thinking her case hopeless."

The touching adjuration of Pusey changed nothing in the attitude of the Episcopate. Probably the Bishop of London intended to answer him when he said in his Charge of 1842 that "a greater evil than the apostasy of a few, or even of many, would be the success of any attempt to establish the fact, not, indeed, of a perfect identity, but of something more than a sisterly resemblance between the two Churches."¹ Was Pusey more happy in the appeals which he made at the same time to Newman? He acknowledged that no one had more authority over the enthusiasts, and refused to believe that they had as much reason as they thought to shelter themselves under his authority. Little accustomed to probing things, not of an anxious temperament, unwilling to be moved, and, as it were, fixed in the serene tranquillity of his affections and Anglican prejudices, accustomed to dwell on self, absorbed in his studies, reading nothing beyond them, never intermingling in the free conversations of the University graduates, he was only imperfectly acquainted with the actual thoughts of Newman, and wrote to ascertain them: "There is what Ward and his friends claim. Is it really true that you approve of it? If, as I hope, this is not the case, then interfere and stop it, for they are ruining the Movement."² This was putting Newman in a difficult and painful position. Whom was

¹ *Memoirs of Bishop Blomfield*, vol. ii., p. 30.

² *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 218, 226.

he to choose among those contending for his adherence? Were he to consult his heart alone, he would range himself with the moderates. Among them were his oldest, most affectionate, and deepest friends. He was as much in sympathy with a Pusey and a Marriott as he was repelled by a Ward. He could not make up his mind to decide everything by logic, and adopted St. Ambrose's maxim: *Non in dialectica complacuit Deo saluum facere populum suum*. Extreme logic was quite opposed to his complex and subtle mind. Has it not been said of him that he gave his thoughts to the public as a poet—which he undoubtedly was—in a suggestive and subjective but often undefined and incomplete form, leaving the reader or the audience to choose, develop, and conclude, without pretending on his part to reason and analyze everything? Nevertheless, in spite of these divergences, of which several years later the *Apologia* bears witness, he could not hide from himself that Ward and his friends were of a lofty, open, and courageous nature. If they were not very complacent, they were at least devoted followers, and had been his closest supporters ever since he had been censured. Above all, taking account, not of persons, but doctrines, he felt himself drawn by a mysterious force in the direction of the extremists. He instinctively felt them to be in the right, and that the conclusion towards which they tended was that to which the principles he had just been forced to admit were sooner or later bound to lead them. “‘My old friends are what I like, their *ἦθος* and character,’ mentioning myself and another, C. Cornish; ‘but I like the opinions of my new friends, though not themselves.’”¹

¹ *Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, p. 113.

Such being his state of mind, it was difficult for Newman to give satisfaction to Pusey. When the latter complained of the violent attacks of Ward and Oakeley on the Reformers of the sixteenth century, Newman replied that doubtless it was better when one could leave these Reformers in peace; for his own part, he was inclined to think equally ill of them. Great was the astonishment of Pusey, who had not suspected this. "You will think it strange," he wrote to Newman, "that I did not know your opinion of the Reformers, but the preface to *Remains*, Part II., not having fallen in my way, I never happened to read it." It was the same with the rest of Pusey's grievances. Newman was both desirous not to leave him in the ignorance in which he appeared to be of the change in his opinions, and at the same time careful not to wound him by too strong and sudden a light. He congratulated himself that his ideas had been clearly explained to Pusey by Ward, for, as he said to Church, "nothing is so bad as a state of twilight." "I am very glad indeed," he wrote to Pusey, "that Ward should speak only with you about himself, but you must not (I see from what he says) take him as a fair reporter about me. Everyone colours what he hears by his own mind. I have no doubt that on many points he knows more what I think than you do, because he has asked me more questions, but I am as sure that he has often not taken in my exact meaning."¹

So, at the risk of grieving a friend so dear as Pusey, Newman allowed him to see that on more points than one he sided with the enthusiasts, although he had on that account no intention of following them wherever

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 218, 227; *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 351.

they went. Doubtless he dared not assert that they were in error, but he was not sure that they might not be right. Moreover, if he must follow in the same direction he would go at his own pace. Thus he did not submit without impatience to the ceaseless questions by which Ward tried to induce him to disclose the final result of all his reflections, a result which he himself did not know. His mind was far from being made up. Could he not be left in peace during this crisis? Hence, in the face of these interrogations he adopted an attitude which might leave an equivocal impression on those who approached him. He himself related later :

“ Sometimes in what I wrote, I went just as far as I saw, and could as little say more, as I could see what is below the horizon ; and therefore, when asked as to the consequences of what I had said, I had no answer to give. Again, sometimes when I was asked whether certain conclusions did not follow from a certain principle, I might not be able to tell at the moment, especially if the matter were complicated : and for this reason, if for no other, because there is great difference between a conclusion in the abstract and a conclusion in the concrete, and because a conclusion may be modified in fact by a conclusion from some opposite principle. Or it might so happen that I got simply confused by the very clearness of the logic which was administered to me, and thus gave my sanction to conclusions which really were not mine ; and when the report of those conclusions came round to me through others, I had to unsay them. . . . To come to me with methods of logic had in it the nature of a provocation, and, though I do not think I ever showed it, made me somewhat indifferent how I met them, and perhaps led me, as a means of relieving my impatience, to be mysterious or irrelevant, or to give in because I could not reply. . . . In saying all this, I am saying nothing against the deep piety and earnestness which were characteristics of this second phase of the Movement, in which I have taken so prominent

a part. What I have been observing is, that this phase had a tendency to bewilder and to upset me, and that, instead of saying so, as I ought to have done, in a sort of easiness, for what I know, I gave answers at random which have led to my appearing close or inconsistent."¹

Thus, pulled in opposite ways by friends more and more divided, and unable to lead them with firmness, a course ever repugnant to him, and still less so now that he was conscious that his first systems had crumbled beneath him, he heard applied to himself this verse of one of his poems: "Thou couldst a people raise, but couldst not rule." Powerless to reassure some and to enlighten others, fearing to wound some and unsettle others, not knowing how to say what he thinks advantageous to restless and impatient minds without surprising and paining those whose faith had known no uncertainty, asking himself "if what was food for one would not be poison for another," convinced of the danger of speaking and also of keeping silence, with his affectionate nature more sensitive than any other to the disappointment and disapprobation of those he loved, above all scrupulously anxious for the souls who trusted him, uncertain of his own exact beliefs, not knowing and almost not daring to look whither he was going, passing alternately through light and obscurity, believing that these difficulties and anxieties and gropings would furnish a pretext for accusations of equivocation and dissimulation, the responsibility of a Party Leader, which circumstances had imposed upon him in spite of himself, weighed more heavily and more anxiously upon Newman, and he longed to be rid of it. In the period following the publication of *Tract* 90, he

¹ *Apologia.*

began a movement of retreat by stopping the *Tracts* at the request of his bishop. About the same time he resigned the editorship of the *British Critic*, put an end to the theological conferences which were held at Pusey's house, and discontinued the evening meetings to which he liked to invite his friends. If he had not resigned his Vicarage as he had intended, if in the latter part of 1841 he several times appeared in the pulpit of St. Mary's, his sermons were fewer in number, and their tone betrayed the emotion of a farewell. In February, 1842, under the influence of growing anxieties, he decided to take another step in the direction of a complete retreat. Without resigning his position as Vicar, he deputed to his curate the duty of continuing the religious services at St. Mary's, gave up preaching, and retired to Littlemore, a dependency of his parish two miles distant from Oxford.

IX

For some time Littlemore had become very dear to Newman. Being greatly solicitous for the spiritual needs of this the humblest and, before his time, the most neglected portion of his parish, he had built a church there, which was consecrated in 1836,¹ where he had a curate. In his worst times of conflict or trouble he felt refreshed in passing a few days or, whenever possible, a few weeks in this retreat. Thus, in the beginning of 1840, a little after his first crisis of doubt, he took advantage of the curate's departure to establish himself at Littlemore during Lent, devoting himself to his country parishioners as if they were his only care, piously celebrating the services morning and

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 101, 112, 114.

evening, decorating the little church on festivals with loving care, catechizing the children (whose schoolmistress had not been very capable), teaching them to sing, and visibly happy, after so many agitations, at believing himself a simple country parson.¹

In 1842 it was no longer a short stay that Newman intended to make at Littlemore. This time he installed himself there, accompanied by his most precious treasure—viz., his library of theological and, above all, Patristic books, which, he playfully wrote, he feared to make his “idol.”² What was his intention? Sometimes he contemplated the resignation of his Vicarage.³ Sometimes, on the contrary, he cherished the hope of fashioning for himself a tenable situation in the Anglican Church,⁴ and of using this temporary retreat only to prepare fresh weapons, whence originated his allusion to Wellington’s renowned campaign in Portugal, in which he styled Littlemore his Torres Vedras.⁵ The truth is that he had no clear view either of his situation or of himself. In the confusion into which he was thrown by the breakdown of all the arguments on which he had at first believed that he could rely, he felt the need of reflection, of quiet study for a little, and of a thorough examination

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 300, 304.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 390. It was principally from the profits of *Tract 90*, the sale of which had been unexpectedly large, that Newman bought the greater part of his books. This collection afterwards became the Library of the Edgbaston Oratory.

³ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 409.

⁴ Newman wrote to Hope on April 22, 1842: “We are all much quieter and more resigned than we were, and are remarkably desirous of building up a position, and proving that the English theory is tenable—or, rather, that English state of things” (*Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 395).

⁵ *Apologia*.

of the claims of the Anglican Church. Above all, he felt the need of seeking in prayer, mortification, and meditation the light and grace necessary to solve the problem that troubled him. He longed to work at his own sanctification, being certain to find there no delusion. This thought he expressed in one of his last sermons at St. Mary's, January 23, 1842. "Let us turn aside from shadows. Strive with the grace of God to improve and sanctify the interior man. Then we cannot go wrong."

Newman offered the retreat which he sought for himself at Littlemore to those of his followers who were passing through the same crisis. From the time that he became doubtful he absolutely refused to make proselytes; but he recognized his duties to the young men who trusted in him, and who were now suffering from the consequences of his indecision. Among these disciples, moreover, some were almost without a refuge—students to whom, on account of their opinions, the Heads of Colleges refused the certificates necessary for ordination; young clergymen who, from conscientious motives, believed themselves unfit to exercise parochial functions. To all Newman offered the peaceful and secluded retreat of Littlemore.

The place was particularly well adapted for this hospitality. Faithful to an idea put forward by Froude,¹ Newman had for some time encouraged the plan of restoring monasticism in the Church of England. He had spoken of it to his friends, and, among others, to Pusey. Pusey had the same desire. He wished, above all, to establish convents of Sisters of Mercy, but he was greatly embarrassed on entering ground so utterly unknown to him. With this intention he went to Ireland to study

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 444.

the Catholic convents there.¹ Newman's sense of these difficulties was no less keen. Nevertheless, when he was established at Littlemore in 1840, he at once thought of constituting there the monastery of his dreams. So retired a spot seemed to him more suitable than a large centre for quietly making an attempt "which might preach to others."² With this design he had bought from nine to ten acres of land, and had adapted for his purpose a row of cottages, which were to be joined to the main building by a long cloister. This building was to be larger than the others, and contained library, refectory, and oratory. But the following year the storm raised by *Tract 90* forced him to abandon his first intention. He contented himself, therefore, with a portion of the material installation, without constituting a "monastic body."³

It was, therefore, not in an avowed, organized monastery that Newman offered hospitality to his followers. Many of them thankfully accepted the invitation. A year later he wrote: "All our beds have been full for months, and I think we must cut our sets of rooms into two to admit more inmates."⁴ The life was poor and austere, with nothing of English comfort; the cells were narrow, the ceilings low, and the walls whitewashed. No servants were kept in the house; a cook came daily, and a boy for odd jobs. Almost continual abstinence, frequent and rigorous fasts; during Advent and Lent the attempt was made to delay the meal until five o'clock in the evening, but by the doctor's advice this had to be relinquished. The festivals and offices of the Catholic liturgy

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 10, 37-40, 135-138, 155.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 135-138.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 224-268.

⁴ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. li., p. 409.

were strictly observed ; the Breviary was recited in common at the canonical hours in the oratory. This oratory, being only intended for the private use of the community, did not prevent attendance at the public services of the village church. It had no altar, but on the table between two candlesticks stood a Spanish crucifix. Matins were recited at 6 a.m. An attempt had been made to say them at midnight, at the suggestion of Dalgairns, an ardent admirer of the Cistercian rule, but Newman thought it wiser to stop this practice. Only one change was made in the Breviary. In conformity with one of the Thirty-nine Articles, which repudiated the invocation of Saints, instead of addressing the Saint directly by *Ora pro nobis*, an address was made to God by the Saint in the words *Oret pro nobis*. Meditation and self-examination were made daily, Confession weekly, and Communion frequently. In addition to the prayers and offices, which occupied a good portion of the time, all were engaged in study. Silence reigned in the house. There was reading during meals. In the afternoon there was a walk in common, and after the evening meal a gathering in the library ; great was the universal joy when the master shared in these recreations.

Completely as Newman sought to hide himself in this life of retreat and silence, he could not succeed in making himself forgotten by the religious world, whose eyes had been fixed upon him for several years. He still remained the centre towards which many souls continued to turn. A part of his time was passed in answering correspondents, known and unknown, who confided to him their troubles and begged his advice. It being no longer possible to attend his sermons at St. Mary's, his earlier sermons were eagerly sought after, and the volume of *University Sermons*

published about this time had a still larger sale than any of its predecessors, a fact at which the author was the first to be surprised.¹ But the attention bestowed upon Newman was not always sympathetic. Many looked with suspicion upon his mysterious retreat, and all sorts of stories were told about what took place in what was commonly called the "monastery" of Littlemore. Besides the friends who came to visit him, many adversaries frequented the neighbourhood, and tried to pry into its supposed secrets. One day Dr. Symons, the Head of Wadham College, a strict Evangelical, rang at the door, and asked Newman, who happened to answer it, whether he could see over the monastery. "We have no monastery here," Newman replied, and shut the door in his face.

Newman was greatly hurt by this indiscreet and malicious curiosity, and showed it on the occasion of a proceeding taken concerning him by the Bishop of Oxford in April, 1842. The bishop, worried by continual denunciations and harassed by attacks in the newspapers, had written him a letter in which, while refusing to believe what had been told him or printed about the supposed monastery, he asked for an explanation which would enable him to deny the reported revival of monasticism. Newman did not hide from the bishop that he felt it hard both on the bishop and on himself that the restlessness of the public mind should require such an explanation.² He also expressed his surprise that he should still be "the subject of incessant misrepresentation," although a year had passed since his submission, silence, and the cessation

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 409, 411.

² *Letters and Correspondence*, vol. ii. (letter to the Bishop of Oxford, dated April 14, 1842).

of the *Tracts*. From the tone of this reply it was evident that Newman bore the situation created for him in his own Church with an increasing sadness and impatience. He has himself described his grievance against those who pursued him even into his private retreat: "Have I not retreated from you? Have I not given up my position and my place? am I alone of Englishmen not to have the privilege to go where I will, no questions asked? am I alone to be followed about by jealous, prying eyes? . . . Cowards! if I advanced one step you would run away; it is not you that I fear: *Di me terrent, et Jupiter hostis*. It is because the bishops still go on charging against me, though I have quite given up; it is that secret misgiving of heart which tells me that they do well, for I have neither lot nor part with them. . . . Why will you not let me die in peace? Wounded beasts creep into some hole to die in, and no one grudges it them. Let me alone: I shall not trouble you long."¹

X

In addition to the vehement attacks of his opponents and the persistent censure of the bishops, Newman had to encounter another source of trouble which, perhaps, he felt even more keenly—the divisions of his friends. Ward, in the *British Critic*, proclaimed his Romanism more openly than ever. In articles hastily written, but which exerted a great influence, he praised the doctrine and spirituality of the Church of Rome. He seemed to delight in adopting those parts of her phraseology most startling to Protestant prejudices. Unlike the Tractarians, who had appealed

¹ *Apologia*.

to a certain Anglican patriotism and honour, and who had presented their system as a return to the true traditions of the national Church and a means of exalting her, Ward humbled the pride of his Church by insisting upon "her degraded condition," and bluntly declared that there was no alternative for him but "humbly to implore pardon and restoration at the feet of Rome."

Offensive as this language appeared to some of his friends, Newman refused to disavow it. "As to my being entirely with Ward," he wrote to Pusey on October 16, 1842, "I do not know the limits of my own opinions. If Ward says that this or that is a development from what I have said, I cannot say Yes or No. It is plausible, it *may* be true. . . . I cannot assert that it is not true; but I cannot, with that keen perception which some people have, appropriate it. It is a nuisance to me to be *forced* beyond what I can fairly accept." Shortly before, in August, Pusey wrote to Newman: "Strange to say, they imply that you are less satisfied that our Church is a part of the Catholic Church than myself. This notion seems to be encouraged somehow, I do not know how. The Roman Catholics are very diligent in circulating it." Newman at once replied: "I am not at all surprised or hurt at persons being suspicious of *my* faith in the English Church. I think they have cause to do so. It would not be honest in me not to confess, when persons have a right to ask me, that I have misgivings, not about her Orders, but about her ordinary enjoyment of the privileges they confer, while she is so separated from Christendom, so tolerant of heresy. . . . But I think few people have any right to know my opinions." Such confidences distressed Pusey, but, because of the difficulty he had of understanding a

mind moulded differently to his own, he ended by reassuring himself. How was he to admit that he could be seriously at variance with his beloved Newman? Persuaded that the latter was distraught by the hostile proceedings of the Heads of Houses and of the Bishops, he attempted to efface this impression by assuring him of the continued affection and confidence of his friends in him and in his work, and by redoubling his tenderness towards him. This occasioned the following affectionate note, written about Easter, 1843 :

"I wished I could have written a few lines to you on Easter Eve. It comes heavily to me sometimes to think that some of the miserable judgments passed upon you, and the sad want of sympathy (in some) with you, must at times be wearisome to you. I have wished to obtain some share of what has fallen peculiarly upon you, but I have not been worthy. I wished, in wishing you the Easter joys, which I was sure you would have, to say that I had, infinitely rather than the whole world, have all the judgments, harsh speeches, suspicions, mistrust, which have fallen upon you, only that I am not fit for them. I hoped, in whatever degree you may at times feel them, which I can only conjecture, it might be cheering that one who loves you thinks them a portion of your treasure."¹

Although living out of Oxford, Keble was better informed than Pusey upon Newman's state of mind. His mind was more open to the ideas of others, and no one could better encourage confidence. The crisis through which he saw his friend passing alarmed him. He endeavoured to restrain him, asking if he was not too severe on the Anglican Church and too much an admirer

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 292-305 ; *Apologia ; Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 396.

of Rome. He attempted to move his conscience by the thought of the many souls dependent upon his direction whom such a resolution on his part would throw into confusion and perplexity, but he made these representations with a sort of modest hesitation and distrust of his own judgment. He endeavoured, above all, to show that nothing should be lessened of the "love and esteem and regard and gratitude" that he owed Newman; that he was convinced of the sincerity of his views and the nobility of his inspirations. He was, as it were, overawed by humility and respect before the mystery that was being accomplished in Newman's soul.¹

Among the first Tractarians, all did not share this persistent confidence in Newman; some found it impossible to remain on the same footing of friendship with him. Hence arose coolness and estrangements particularly painful to the tender nature of Newman. Not only did his curate, Isaac Williams, who was shocked at the ideas he half perceived, leave Oxford, but Rogers, so long his most beloved and intimate friend, who had for many years been his next-door neighbour on the same staircase at Oriel, also took fright at his Romanism, and, in consequence, settled in London, from whence he wrote on April 3, 1843:

"I do not like to meet you again without having said, once for all, what I hope you will not think hollow or false. I cannot disguise from myself how very improbable—perhaps impossible—a recurrence to our former terms is. But I wish, before the time has passed for such an acknowledgment, to have said how deeply and painfully I feel—and I may say have more or less felt for *years*—the

¹ Letters of May 14 and July 29, 1843; *John Keble*, by Lock, pp. 119-122

greatness of what I am losing, and to thank you for all you have done and been to me. I know that it is in great measure by my own act that I am losing this, and I cannot persuade myself that I am substantially wrong, or that I could long have avoided what has happened. But I *do* believe, if I may dare to say so, that God would have found a way to preserve to me so great a blessing as your friendship if I had been less unworthy of it. I *do* feel most earnestly how much of anything which I may venture to be thankful for in what I am is of your forming—how more than kind, how tender you have always been to me, and how unlikely it is that I can ever again meet with anything approaching in value to the intimacy which you gave me. . . . I should have been pained at leaving all this unsaid. But I do not write it with any idea of forcing an answer from you—nor does it require one—and I shall not attach any meaning to your leaving it unanswered.

“Yours affectionately,

“FREDERIC ROGERS.”¹

Painful as was for Newman the estrangement of such a friend, he did nothing to retain him. Their relations were not resumed until years later; but then the old affection was found to be still alive, and in 1889, when Rogers, then Lord Blachford, was on his death-bed, he wrote three letters to his closest friends—Gladstone, Church, and Newman. Newman in his turn, in bequeathing a present which Lord Blachford had brought him from Italy in 1880, dictated a message to be sent with it stating how much the donor had been to him, enumerating his rare qualities, and recalling the fact that of all the intimacies which he had formed at Oxford none had approached his intimacy with Rogers.

In vain did the moderates in the Movement distinguish themselves from the extremists; they were none the better

¹ *Letters of Lord Blachford*, pp. 110, 441.

treated by the Oxford authorities. These last, not content with vexing a few undergraduates suspected of Tractarianism, wished again to attack a leader, and decided upon Pusey. The occasion chosen was a sermon preached on the Eucharist in Christ Church on May 14, 1843.¹ Pusey was far from making any extraordinary or provocative demonstration. Desiring to preach on "Comforts to the Penitent," it would have been natural for him to speak first of absolution from sin; but he had chosen the Eucharist in preference, as being in his view less likely to cause disquiet. The sermon was, above all else, practical, its aim being to increase the frequency of celebrations of the Eucharist in Christ Church, where only a monthly celebration was authorized. However, much as Pusey strove to avoid controversy on this occasion, he did not hide from his audience his belief in a real objective Presence. No more was necessary to provide a grievance for some minds. This belief, to-day widely prevalent throughout Anglicanism, appeared as a suspicious novelty to the prejudiced Protestants who dominated the early years of the century.² A few days later Dr. Faussett,

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., chap. xxix.

² Newman himself only came to this belief by degrees, under the influence of Froude, and Keble, high Church as he was by education and tradition, had no clear idea on this point at the time of the publication of *The Christian Year*. He had, indeed, written these words in a celebrated poem in that collection :

"O come to our Communion feast !
There present in the heart,
Not in the hands, the Eternal Priest
Will His true Self impart."

It was only towards the end of his life that he consented to substitute "as" for "not." This matter gave rise to many discussions (*cf. John Keble*, by W. Lock, p. 56, and an article in the *Church Times* for November 26, 1897).

already known for his controversial attacks upon Newman, denounced Pusey's sermon to the Vice-Chancellor. The proceedings that followed showed the same bias and precipitation of which the Heads of Houses had given proof two years previously in dealing with *Tract* 90. Five of the six Doctors charged by the Vice-Chancellor to examine the sermon were notorious opponents to Tractarianism, and the complainant himself was one of their number. In vain did Pusey demand that his explanations should be listened to. They refused to hear them, and on May 27 they declared, by five votes out of the six, that he had preached certain matters which were dissonant from or in contradiction with the doctrine of the Church of England. What were these "matters," and where was the contradiction? They refrained from deciding. As to the penalty, they hesitated for some time; but after vainly trying to come to terms with Pusey in regard to recantation, a sentence was pronounced against him on June 2 of prohibition from preaching for two years within the precincts of the University. Although Pusey was surprised by this storm, it did not disturb him. At the news of the denunciation, he wrote to Newman on May 18: "You will be very sorry that the storm has at last reached me. God guide me through it, for it may be a heavy one—not for myself, but for its effects on others." Among his friends indignation was vehement, and protests signed by eminent names were addressed to the Vice-Chancellor. The episode left minds in Oxford in a state of excitement. Everyone felt suspicion and resentment. It was a state of war. On the side of the Tractarians no one could any longer believe himself in safety. If Pusey, with all his moderation and the great consideration in

which he was held, could be thus treated, what might not others fear? Newman, whom during this crisis Pusey had treated as his confidant and most reliable counsellor,¹ felt the trials of his friend more deeply than he had his own. He was indignant at this injustice, and could not help seeing in this treatment another argument against a Church in whose name such men and such doctrines were repudiated.

XI

It has been said that one of Newman's reasons for retiring to Littlemore was to devote himself to a profound examination of his own religious ideas, and to come to an exact understanding with himself upon his beliefs and doubts. The further he advanced in this study, the more he felt the weakness of Anglicanism and the strength of Rome. So far he did not yet see clearly enough to reach a conclusion which would oblige him to leave the one for the other. He has thus defined his state of mind at the time: "Supposing I were crossing ice, which came right in my way, which I had good reasons for considering sound, and which I saw numbers before me crossing in safety, and supposing a stranger from the bank, in a voice of authority, and in an earnest tone, warned me that it was dangerous, and then was silent, I think I should be startled, and should look about me anxiously, but I also should go on till I had better grounds for doubt; and such was my state, I believe, until the end of 1842."²

¹ Pusey's first thought upon publishing his sermon after his condemnation was to dedicate it to Newman as a proof of their friendship. He only abandoned his intention at the request of Keble, who feared to excite the public still more.

² *Apologia*.

In this uncertainty Newman did not believe that he owed any explanation to the public. To speak would be only to betray his doubts and presentiments. He, however, felt some scruples about allowing it to be believed that he still held the same ideas as formerly. Influenced by these scruples, he decided in February, 1843, to publish in the Oxford *Conservative Journal* a formal retraction of all the hard things which he had said against the Church of Rome. After quoting a number of passages from his writings against Rome, he attributed the responsibility for them to the Anglican divines, whom he confessed that he had been wrong enough to follow without independent investigation, and did not hide his resentment against those who had thus deceived him. He compared himself in these circumstances with the convict who, on the scaffold, bit off his mother's ear. "By doing so, he did not deny the fact of his own crime, for which he was to hang; but he said that his mother's indulgence, when he was a boy, had a good deal to do with it. In like manner I had made a charge, and I had made it *ex animo*; but I accused others by their own example of having led me into believing it and publishing it. I was in a humour, certainly, to bite off their ears. I will freely confess that I was angry with the Anglican divines." Newman's retraction did not make a great stir at the time. Its author, who only wished to ease his own conscience, and who feared to disturb others, avoided all ostentation, and chose with this object a journal that had but a small circulation.

A few months later Newman's convictions were still further undermined, for he wrote to a friend on May 4, 1843: "At present, I fear, as far as I can analyze my own

convictions, I consider the Roman Catholic Communion to be the Church of the Apostles, and that what grace is among us (which, through God's mercy, is not little) is extraordinary, and from the overflowings of His dispensation." He then alludes to his thought of resigning his living. "Of course, my being unfaithful to a trust is my great subject of dread, as it has long been, as you know." He added on May 18: "With what sort of sincerity can I obey the Bishop? how am I to act in the frequent cases in which, one way or another, the Church of Rome comes into consideration? . . . By retaining St. Mary's I am an offence and a stumbling-block."¹ Nevertheless, Newman deemed it his right and duty to restrain some of his followers whom he saw tempted to pass over to Rome. He believed himself so bound by loyalty to the Church from which he held his office, by duty to the parents whose children were confided to him, and in the interest of the young men themselves, who he feared might act too precipitately. One of his favourite methods in directing them was to interest them in their own improvement instead of their seeking to judge of the different Churches. "Whatever may be the weaknesses of the English Church," he said, "she possesses gifts and graces through which we can become much more holy than we are. Let us work on in so doing, so we are sure not to be deceived."²

For many Newman's influence was the last and only link that bound them to the English Church. This is exemplified by Ward's reply to a Catholic priest who expressed his astonishment at seeing him remain an

¹ *Apologia*.

² *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 389, 410.

Anglican, though he was a Roman Catholic in belief and at heart. "You Catholics know what it is to have a Pope. Well, Newman is my Pope.¹ Without his sanction I cannot move." Faber was under the same influence. After having made a tour on the Continent and visited Rome, he had gradually drawn nearer to Roman Catholicism.² In June, 1843, he was admitted to an audience by Gregory XVI. The Pope seemed much interested and moved at the account of religious affairs in England. Being informed that his visitor came from that country, he exclaimed, "Inghilterra, Inghilterra!" and shed tears. He said to Faber: "You must not mislead yourself in wishing for unity, yet waiting for your *Church* to move on. Think of the salvation of your own soul." Faber replied that he feared "self-will and *individual* judging." The Pope said: "You are all individuals in the English Church; you have only external communion, and the accident of being all under the Queen. You know this: you know all doctrines are taught among you, anyhow. You must think for yourself and for your soul." The venerable Pontiff then laid his hands upon the shoulders of the young clergyman, saying, "May the grace of God correspond to your good wishes, and deliver you from the nets of Anglicanism, and bring you to the true Holy Church!" Faber left the Pope much overcome.³ More than ever he styled himself "Roman, very Roman."⁴ One would imagine him on the point of taking a decisive step. It is related that twice during his stay in Rome he took up his hat intend-

¹ *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 241.

² *Life and Letters of F. W. Faber*, by Bowden, pp. 89, 90, 102, 150, 164, 209.

³ *Life and Letters of Faber*, p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 209.

ing to go to the English College to make his abjuration;¹ but still this final step was not taken. Newman's influence and example deterred him for two years. He had serious misgivings at remaining in a Church regarding which he had doubts, and in neglecting the warning of the Pope and of the priests he met in Rome as to his own salvation, and shuddered at the thought of being "damned"; but his deference to Newman's advice countervailed. "It is," he wrote to Newman, "a great comfort to me to see you recommending *delay* even in my state of mind . . . and it is a great joy to me to know that I have your prayers meanwhile."² He essayed to slake his thirst for Catholicism by being as Catholic as possible in the performance of his parochial duties, "doing all things in his parish as if he were a Roman." He kept up a constant correspondence with Newman, to whom he laid bare his distress, and from whom he begged the removal of his former prohibition against invoking the Saints, though still promising to submit if the prohibition were maintained. Through his trust in Newman he remained convinced that it was his duty to wait. "So the upshot is," he says, "that I must not decide for myself, but, as you say, be patient till the way is mercifully cleared for us."³

From his post Wiseman watched the vicissitudes of the Oxford Movement with anxious solicitude, and was not slow in perceiving the reasons by which these souls, so near to the truth, sought to withdraw themselves from the obligation of completing their conversion. He gave great attention to this matter. Desirous as he was to deal

¹ *Life and Letters of Faber*, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 211.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 223.

tenderly with Newman and his friends, not to oppose their plans, and to do justice to their intentions, he could not allow it to be believed that he regarded their delays as justifiable. In his letters to the Catholic laymen, who served as intermediaries between him and Oxford, he declared he could not imagine that the Divine Wisdom would permit the Romanizing Tractarians to remain in schism in order to do good. He cautioned them against the illusion which led them to believe that Newman had received, whether by a sort of interior illumination or by the action of grace upon him, a providential intimation to remain in the Church of England. Above all, he refused to promise that he would not endeavour to make individual conversions. A Catholic seemed to him to have duties in these matters to which he could not be false; he was not at liberty to neglect a proffered opportunity of leading a soul to unity under pretext of some extraordinary intervention.¹ Hence it was that towards the close of 1842 Wiseman gave a helping hand in the conversion, which made some noise at the time, of the Rev. Bernard Smith, Rector of Leadenham, and a former Fellow of Magdalen. Having been attracted several years before to the Catholic tendencies of the Movement, Mr. Smith had recently entered into correspondence with the priests of Oscott, and had been agreeably surprised to find them very different from what, through the influence of his former prejudices, he had supposed. At the same time his own bishop, by condemning as tainted with Romanism certain practices which he had adopted in his parish work, seemed to him to indicate that there was an incompatibility between his beliefs and the Church of England.

¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. ii., pp. 415, 419.

Such a proceeding did not tend to strengthen his fidelity. Newman, hearing of his difficulty, wrote to dissuade him from joining the Church of Rome—not, indeed, seeking to depreciate that Church, but insisting on the duty of remaining where Providence had placed him; at the same time he invited him to Littlemore. Smith declined the invitation, and went in preference to Oscott, where, after a retreat directed by Wiseman, he made his abjuration. The “secession” of a clergyman was then a rare event, and occasioned great emotion among the Anglicans. Smith’s diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln, entertained for a moment the idea of imprisoning him for having abandoned his cure. Protestants accused the Tractarians, especially Newman, of being in league with the delinquent, and some journals even went so far as to accuse them of having advised him to retain his living after his abjuration, another proof, in their estimation, of the dishonesty of which they accused Newman and his followers. Being informed that the Bishop of Lincoln believed and had spread this accusation, Newman addressed to him a letter of sorrowful protest. He did not conceal how much such proceedings contributed to detach him from the Church of England. “Be assured, my Lord,” he told him, “that there are very definite limits, beyond which persons like me would never urge another to retain preference in the English Church, nor would retain it themselves; and that the censure which has been directed against them by so many of its rulers has a very grave bearing upon those limits.”¹

¹ *Apologia*.

XII

Smith, after all, had never been intimate with Newman, and therefore the latter was not answerable for him. But it was not so with young Lockhart. Lockhart belonged to a Scottish family, and he came to Oxford in 1839 little inclined to burden himself with religious controversy, much preferring the company of the frivolous young men of the University.¹ But in a short time, owing to the influence of his mother and sister, who had already become partisans of the Movement,² and to the reading of Froude's *Remains*, Pusey's writings upon Baptism, *Tract* 90, and, above all, by his own assiduous attendance at the sermons in St. Mary's, the direction of his inclinations was completely changed. Once started upon this road, he advanced more quickly than his guides, and did not hesitate to show that Anglicanism was insufficient for the needs of his soul, and that he was attracted by Rome. Perhaps, owing to his Scottish birth, he may have been less strongly attached than others to the English Church. He blamed this Church, above all, for having neglected Confession and Absolution. In a time of trouble he requested a dignitary, whom he believed imbued with High Church principles, to hear his Confession, and was surprised to notice that he evaded the demand, startled by so unusual a request. He then applied to Manning, who heard his Confession and per-

¹ On Lockhart, see his *Reminiscences*, published in the *Dublin Review*, April, 1892, at the time of Manning's death, and an article in the *Month*, November, 1893, called "On the Road to Rome."

² Retained several years in Anglicanism by the influence of Manning, these two women finally became Catholics—the mother in 1845, the sister in 1850. The latter died a Franciscan nun.

suaded him to retire to Littlemore, where he settled in 1842, in his twenty-first year. Was Newman, who was undecided in his religious views, in a position to settle those of his charge? To Lockhart's inquiry as to whether he could give Absolution he dared not answer in the affirmative. "Why do you ask me?" he replied; "ask Pusey."¹ His sense of responsibility for those entrusted to his keeping made him guard them against any tendency towards Rome. Above all, he dreaded a secession taking place at Littlemore, and so came to an understanding with his young friend either to put away any idea of change for three years, or to leave Littlemore at once. As Lockhart hesitated, Newman advised him to go to Oxford and have a talk with Ward. The conversation took place during a walk in the parks, and lasted more than three hours. Ward strongly impressed upon the young inquirer the necessity of distrusting his own private judgment in a matter of such importance. On his return to Littlemore, Lockhart told Newman that he intended waiting for three years before taking any step towards Rome.² He kept his resolve for a year, in spite of his increasing perplexity. A Rosminian, Father Gentili, with whom he was then in correspondence, soon saw that the promise made to Newman alone prevented his conversion, and advised him to make three days' retreat. This took place in the second half of August, 1843. It resulted in his abjuration, and he entered the Rosminian novitiate.

The news of this conversion surprised and annoyed Newman. He immediately informed his bishop of it, taking care to tell him of the promise he had exacted

¹ *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, p. 210.

² *Ibid.*

from his guest and the way in which he had failed to keep it. But if he justified himself from all suspicion of disloyalty towards his Church, he was, nevertheless, convinced that his ecclesiastical position was no longer tenable, and that the time had come to resign his living. We know that he had entertained this thought for some time. "Lockhart's affair gives a reason for my resigning," he wrote to Keble, "as being a very great scandal. So great is it that, though I do not feel myself responsible, I do not know how I can hold up my head again while I have St. Mary's."¹ He also foresaw that Lockhart would be followed by others. "Men whom you little think," he wrote to another friend, "or at least whom I little thought, are in almost a hopeless way. Really we may expect anything."² Newman's intention, as soon as it was known, was opposed by Pusey, by many other friends, and by his sisters, who foresaw with alarm a still more complete separation. One of his sisters, Mrs. John Mozley, reminded him "of those many anxious minds waiting and watching your every motion, who would misunderstand your proceeding, and consider it a beginning of a formal disengaging of yourself from your own Church."³ She also enclosed at the same time the following letter, dated August 30, 1843, which she had just received from a lady, the sad and troubled tone of which was well calculated to move Newman's heart:

"I have been thinking that among all the opinions and feelings your brother is called upon to sympathize with, perhaps he hears least and knows least of those who are,

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 422.

² *Apologia*.

³ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 418, 419.
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perhaps, the most numerous class of all—people living at a distance from him, and scattered over the country, with no means of communication with him as with one another, yet who all have been used to look up to him as a guide. These people have a claim upon him; he has witnessed to the world, and they have received his witness; he has taught, and they have striven to be obedient pupils. He has formed their minds, not accidentally; he has *sought* to do so, and he has succeeded. He has undertaken the charge, and cannot now shake them off. His words have been spoken in vain to many, but not to them. He has been the means, under Providence, of making them what they are. Each might have gone his separate way but for him. To them his voluntary resignation of ministerial duties will be a severe blow. If he was silenced, the blame would rest with others; but giving them up by his own free will, they will have a sense of abandonment and desertion. There is something sad enough and discouraging enough in being shunned and eyed with distrust by neighbours, friends, and clergy; but whilst we have had someone to confide in, to receive instruction from, this has been borne easily. A sound from Littlemore and St. Mary's seems to reach us even here, and has given comfort on many a dreary day; but when that voice ceases, even the words it has already spoken, will lose some of their power; we shall have sad thoughts as we read them. Such *was* our guide, but he has left us to seek our own path; our champion has deserted us; our watchman, whose cry used to cheer us up, is heard no more."¹

Newman was moved even to tears; he suffered cruelly from the sorrow he thus caused to souls who had trusted in him. His answers to his sister, his "Dearest Jemima," are couched in as affectionate terms as ever, but his resolve was unshaken. He begged his sister to trust the motives which made him act, and did not hide from her that for several months² his decision had already been made. In

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 420, 421.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 421, 422.

truth, the Lockhart incident was but the occasion of his resignation; its cause was deeper and far more reaching. He determined to disclose this cause to J. B. Mozley in a letter which he specially marked "confidential." "Really," he wrote, "it is no personal feeling or annoyance under which I do it. I hope I am right in speaking openly to you, which I have not done but to a very few, but now I will tell you the real cause. . . . The truth, then, is, I am not a good son enough of the Church of England to feel I can in conscience hold preferment under her. I love the Church of Rome too well. Now please *burn this*.¹ . . ." To other friends he dared say nothing precise, but let them draw their own conclusions. "I *could* tell you some very painful things," he said to his dear Bowden, "but it is best not to anticipate troubles, which, after all, can but happen, and for what one knows may be averted. You are always so kind that sometimes, when I part from you, I am nearly moved to tears, as it would be a relief to be so, at your kindness, and at my hardness. I think no one ever had such kind friends as I have."² In a letter to another sister, Mrs. Thomas Mozley, he expressed himself thus: "I do so despair of the Church of England, and am so evidently cast off by her, and, on the other hand, I am so drawn to the Church of Rome, that I think it *safer*, as a matter of honesty, *not* to keep my living. . . . I could not without hypocrisy profess myself any longer a *teacher* and a *champion* for our Church. Very few persons know this, hardly one person—only one (I think) in Oxford—viz., James Mozley. I think it would be most cruel, most unkind, most unsettling, to tell them. My

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 423.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 425.

dear Harriet, you must learn patience, so must we all, and resignation to the will of God.”¹ His resolution once taken, Newman hastened to act on it. On September 18, 1843, he went to London to sign his resignation. On the 24th he ascended the pulpit of St. Mary’s, Oxford, for the last time; his sermon was in a particularly grave and moving tone, but made no allusion to his resignation. It was on the following day at Littlemore that he really bade adieu to his Anglican congregation. Friends came in great numbers: many from Oxford, although it was vacation-time; some from a greater distance, including Bellasis, who came from London.² The little church was decorated with flowers in honour of the seventh anniversary of its consecration: flowers especially covered the tomb of Newman’s mother. When Newman ascended the pulpit there was a fearsome silence in the church: all understood that something very grave and very solemn was about to take place. The speaker took for his subject “The parting of Friends.” His voice was low, at times a little hesitating, with long pauses, during which he seemed to make an effort to control his feelings, but every word was distinctly heard. He passed in review the scenes of separation related in the Bible—among others, that of David and Jonathan. The accent of his voice betrayed the anguish of his soul, his saddened feeling in regard to the treatment which forced him to resign, and the distress that overwhelmed him at the ruin of so many hopes. He ended his sermon with a

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 425, 426.

² Bellasis wrote a vivid account of this day to his wife (*Memoirs of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis*, pp. 62-65).

touching lamentation to that Church which he loved so dearly, and which now cast him forth.

"O my Mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee, and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, not the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise falls from thy bosom, and finds no hope within thy arms? Who hath put this note upon thee, to have 'a miscarrying womb and dry breasts,' to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear, as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence; at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayst. Thou makest them stand all the day idle, as the very-condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them begone, where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for nought to the stranger that passes by. And what wilt thou do in the end thereof?"

Towards the end of his sermon the preacher put aside bitter memories and turned with a thought of gentler sadness to the friends who surrounded him for the last time. "And now, my friends, my dear friends" (here a long pause), "if you should be acquainted with anyone who by his teaching, or by his writings, or by his sympathy, has helped you or has seemed to understand you, or feel with you, etc. Oh! my friends" (here a long pause), "remember such a one and pray for him."¹ All excepting the speaker shed tears. Descending the pulpit, Newman

¹ Bellasis' account of the sermon written at the time (*Memoirs of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis*, pp. 62-65).

received Communion and withdrew. Pusey continued the service, but was continually interrupted by tears. When the ceremony had ended, all left Littlemore with a clear feeling that the whole of a past—and what a past!—was definitely closed. “I am just returned, half broken-hearted, from the commemoration at Littlemore,” wrote Pusey; “the sermon was like one of Newman’s. . . . People sobbed visibly. . . . If our Bishops did but know what faithful hearts, devoted to our Lord and the service of His Church, they are breaking!”¹

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 374.

Towards the end of his sermon the preacher put aside later memories and turned with a thought of gentler ease to the friends who surrounded him for the last time. “And now, my friends, my dear friends” (here a long pause) “if you should be separated with anyone who by his teaching, or by his writings, or by his sympathy, has helped you or has seemed to understand you as few with you do—Oh! my friends—have a long pause—remember me to him and say for him: ‘All accepting the speaker stand near. Remembering the pupil, Newman

² *Life of Newman*, vol. ii., p. 374. Newman's sermon at the commemoration at Littlemore, 1845.

CHAPTER V

THE CATASTROPHE

(1843—1845)

I. The emotion aroused by Newman's resignation—His conversion does not, however, take place for another two years—Reason for this delay—He dislikes all public action—He is pained by the perplexity and sadness of his friends—His intercourse with Keble and Pusey—Death of Pusey's daughter—Pusey translates Catholic books of devotion, and refuses to attack the Roman Church. II. Ward publishes his *Ideal of a Christian Church*—The controversies called forth by the aggressively Romanist doctrines of the book—The Heads of Houses delate it to Convocation—Their desire to establish a new test, or, at least, to censure *Tract 90*—The meeting of Convocation—Ward is condemned, but the other proposal is stopped by the veto of the Proctors—Oakeley is suspended by the Court of Arches. III. Effect of Ward's condemnation on Newman—He studies the theory of the development of Christian doctrine, and begins to write an essay on the subject—He informs his friends of his approaching conversion—Their reception of the news—Newman in the Littlemore community—He persists in keeping aloof from Catholics—Wiseman sends Smith to Littlemore. IV. The conversions of Ward and of several other followers of Newman—Newman decides to send for Father Dominic—His secession and its effects—Numerous conversions—Newman's friends do not follow him—Interview between Newman and Wiseman—Newman leaves Littlemore and Oxford.

I

THE agitation caused by Newman's farewell sermon was not confined to Littlemore. Twenty-five years later a witness, though not one of his followers, still felt, after "an interval of twenty-five years, how vividly comes

back the remembrance of the aching blank, the awful pause, which fell on Oxford when that voice had ceased, and we knew that we should hear it no more. It was as when, to one kneeling by night, in the silence of some vast cathedral, the great bell tolling solemnly overhead has suddenly gone still.”¹ The general opinion was that this resignation was a preliminary step to his secession, and everybody felt that it was impossible to exaggerate what a blow this would be for the English Church. “I stagger to and fro like a drunken man, and am at my wit’s end,” said Gladstone in writing to Manning. Even those who did not belong to the Tractarian School felt the immensity of the loss. In a letter of this period Stanley relates the emotion felt by all the intellectual world of Oxford. He says: “No one asked about it in public, but everyone rushed to and fro to ask in private,” and adds: “To anyone who has been accustomed to look upon Arnold and Newman as *the* two great men of the Church of England, the death of the one and the secession of the other could not but look ominous, like the rattle of departing chariots that was heard on the eve of the downfall of the Temple of Jerusalem.”²

People were right in regarding Newman as lost to the English Church, but were wrong in believing that his secession would take place at an early date. He despaired of his own Church, and was each day more in doubt as to whether she was a branch of the Catholic Church; more inclined to see in the Church of Rome the true Church, but did not yet feel the obligation of joining her. Doubt

¹ *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, by Principal Shairp, p. 255, 4th edit.

² *Life of Stanley*, vol. i., p. 332.

alone was not enough to make him take this final step ; it needed certainty, which he did not possess.¹ Moreover, the vacillation of his former convictions tended to make him distrust himself. " My difficulty was this," he wrote later: " I had been deceived greatly once ; how could I be sure that I was not deceived a second time ? . . . What test had I, that I should not change again, after that I had become a Catholic ? I had still apprehension of this, though I thought a time would come when it would depart." ² The apostasy at the end of 1843 of Sibthorpe, a recent convert, seemed an argument against any precipitate step.

This state of expectation and uncertainty was to last for two years. Some have been surprised and badly impressed by this. One can readily answer them with Newman himself in the voice of St. Augustine, " Let those make use of severity who are not acquainted with the difficulties of distinguishing error from truth, and in finding the true way of life amidst the illusions of the world." The more these convictions took deeper root, not only in Newman's mind, but in his heart, the more difficult it became to detach himself from them, and his custom of viewing every side of a question was another obstacle to his coming to a conclusion. Again, a Providential reason might be given for this delay. It was of the utmost importance to prove to the souls under his direction that he had exhausted all means of resistance before surrendering. Was not the prolongation of his inquiry a proof of the seriousness and sincerity with

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 425 ; letters of October 14 and 25, 1843, quoted in the *Apologia*.

² *Apologia*.

which he conducted it? The laborious effort, slow but persevering, of this earnest mind trying to disengage itself from surrounding darkness, and its gradual progress towards the light dawning on the horizon, evoke feelings of the deepest respect rather than mere criticism.

After resigning his living Newman did not leave Littlemore, but continued to live there with several of his young disciples. Although he had renounced all ecclesiastical functions, he still considered himself in lay communion with the English Church, attended her services, avoided all intercourse with Catholics, and refrained from practices, such as the invocation of Saints, which seemed to him especially Roman. Nevertheless, he was obliged to acknowledge "that he was thinking of moving." At Oxford he "found himself out of place." Everything seemed to say to him, "This is not your home." He began also to feel "much more easily touched" than formerly; he could no longer read the life of a Saint without tears.¹ He gave himself more than ever to prayer and meditation. His increasing austerities attracted the notice of his doctor.² His wish was to put himself in God's hands and await the indication of His will. How would this indication manifest itself? On what occasion? In what form? He did not know, but kept on the watch for it. One of his dearest and earliest friends, Bowden, was then dangerously ill. Seeing him so near his end, he wondered if he ought to disclose his doubts and help him to examine his own belief. He refrained from doing so from fear of disturbing his good faith when he was not in a position to offer him any certainty. He had a hope that

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 435.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 439.

the last days of his friend would bring him some enlightenment, but none came. "I sobbed bitterly over his coffin to think that he had left me still dark as to what the way of truth was, and what I ought to do in order to please God and fulfil His will." "Of course, when one sees so blessed an end, and that, the termination of so blameless a life, of one who really fed on our ordinances and got strength from them . . . it is impossible not to feel more at ease in our Church, as at least a sort of Zoar, a place of refuge and temporary rest, because of the steepness of the way."¹ He adds, it is true, "only may we be kept from an unlawful security." He says elsewhere: "With the thought of my friend before me, my strong view in favour of Rome remained just what it was." In letters dated a few weeks later he declared himself convinced that his Church was in "a state of schism," and that his personal salvation depended upon union with Rome; that this union would take place one day or another, though he adds, "Unless something occurs which I cannot anticipate I have no intention of an early step even now. . . . What keeps me here is the desire for giving every chance for finding out if I am under the power of a delusion. . . . My intention is, if nothing comes upon me, which I cannot foresee, to remain quietly *in statu quo* for a considerable time."² In this state of uncertainty and development of his beliefs, Newman felt little inclined to enter into communication with the public. If he continued to publish his sermons, he did not hide from himself that they spoke of the state of his Church with greater confidence than he now felt; "but," he

¹ Letter of September, 1844 (*Apologia*).

² Letter of November, 1844 (*Apologia*).

added, "I think it right, and do not care for seeming inconsistent." In 1843 he entertained the idea of editing a series of Lives of the English Saints. Many friends of various shades of opinion had eagerly offered to collaborate. But on the publication of the *Life of St. Stephen Harding* by Dalgairns in 1844, a cry of Romanism was raised against it from all quarters, and was even echoed by such friends as Gladstone and Pusey. To Hope Scott, who asked if it were not possible to begin with less Roman biographies, Newman replied: "There are none such; all furnish matter for the same accusation." Nevertheless, these complaints put an end to all collective enterprise, and the public were informed that henceforth each author would be responsible for his own publication. A small number appeared under these conditions.¹ From this incident Newman concluded that "the Anglican Church could not bear the lives of her Saints." And he saw plainly that this new fact did not contribute to strengthen a faith already so much shaken.²

Definitely repelled by such an experience from all public action, Newman resolved to await in silence the result of the inner workings of his own conscience. If he had had to consider himself alone he could have waited patiently, believing himself to be under Divine guidance, not knowing whither he went, but fully convinced that all would turn out for his good. It was always in regard to others that he had his greatest perplexities—to his younger followers who were impatient at his leaving them

¹ *The Life of St. Wilfrid*, by Faber, published in 1845, was one of this series. Its very Roman character brought upon its author a number of attacks, and the criticism of Pusey and Marriott (*Life and Letters of F. W. Faber*, pp. 223, 228).

² *Memoirs of J. R. Hope Scott*, vol. ii., p. 24; *Apologia*.

without direction, and his older friends who were troubled at the ruin of his faith in the Church of England. To a friend who had spoken of rumours about Newman's early or possible secession, he replied on October 31, 1843: "Your letter has made my heart ache more, and caused me more and deeper sighs than any I have had a long while. . . . On all sides I am haunted by this one dreadful whisper repeated from so many quarters, and causing the keenest distress to my friends."¹ To another he wrote on February 21, 1844: "I am not worthy of friends. With my opinions, to the full of which I dare not confess, I feel like a guilty person with others, though I trust I am not so. People kindly think that I have much to bear externally—disappointment, slander, etc. No, I have nothing to bear but the anxiety I feel for my friends' anxiety for me and perplexity." And later, on November 16, he wrote: "I am going through what must be gone through; and my trust only is that every day of pain is so much taken from the necessary draught which must be exhausted. . . . As far as I know myself, my one great distress is the perplexity, unsettlement, alarm, scepticism, which I am causing to so many; and the loss of kind feeling and good opinion on the part of so many, known and unknown, who have wished well to me. . . . I had for days a literal ache all about my heart; and from time to time all the complaints of the Psalmist seem to belong to me."

It was not those, such as Gladstone and Manning, who tried to argue with him and to prove the claims of the English Church, who embarrassed Newman. These contradictions rather strengthened him in his new ideas. He

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 431.

was moved and ill at ease in the presence of those who only fought to retain him by redoubled affection. Keble, for instance, in his letters allowed him to see an unaccustomed sorrow—a sort of humble and repentent despondency unusual in so placid a soul. In his case there was no attempt at discussion; it might rather be said that he blamed himself for having helped to investigate without due consideration those ways the issue of which had become so troublous, and for acting the part of the “blind leading the blind.” He kept the modest reserve of a man who does not believe himself capable of answering his questioner, who is careful to say nothing that might cause sorrow or trouble, and, above all, solicitous to show himself more tender and affectionate the more he felt his friend was blamed and afflicted. The only influence he used was to remind him not to imagine “that you have not hundreds, not to say thousands, sympathizing with you, and feeling that they owe their very selves to you.”¹ “I can,” he added, “only speak for *one* of certain knowledge. Your sermons put me in the way, and your healing ministration helped me beyond measure. This is certain knowledge of mine . . . and wherever I go there is someone to whom you have been a channel of untold blessing. You must not be angry, for I feel that I could not help saying it, and I am sure the very air of England all around you would say the same if it could be made vocal. They have had unspeakable help from you, and it is now their turn to help you with their prayers and good wishes.”²

Neither did Pusey attempt to enter into controversy

¹ Lock's *Life of Keble*, pp. 124, 125, 141-144.

² Letter of November, 1844 (*ibid.*, p. 125).

with a mind whose clearness and subtilty perplexed and disconcerted him. Disposed to believe that his friend's trouble arose, above all, from the way in which he had been treated by his co-religionists, he attempted to efface its bitterness by increased affection, and did not discuss doctrinal matters, but sought to suggest thoughts to him of the most elevated piety. Newman would not allow his friend to believe that his trouble was the outcome of injured feelings, and he clearly told him that that cause could be traced to the change in his beliefs. "For four years and a half I have had a conviction," he wrote to him, "weaker or stronger, but on the whole constantly growing, and at present very strong, that we are not part of the Catholic Church." He was troubled at the thought which such an admission would cause his friend. "And yet, is it possible," he added, "you can be quite unprepared for this avowal?" Moved as Pusey was by this revelation, it did not destroy his confidence. "I have such conviction," he answered Newman, "that all will be right—I mean for our poor Church and you."¹

It was, moreover, on Newman that, in the trials of his private life, Pusey rested for support. What he had been to him, in 1839, on the death of his wife, he was again in April, 1844, on the death of his eldest daughter, the delicate and pious Lucy, of whom Newman wrote, "She was a saint." Notwithstanding her delicate health, she had bound herself by vow to the care of the infirm and poor in a single life, fulfilling in this manner the desire of her father to see religious life restored in the Anglican Church. Brought up by her mother to regard Newman with veneration, she looked up to him as her spiritual

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 380, 382.

father. In giving an account to Newman of his daughter's illness and the admirable sentiments she expressed, Pusey wrote: "She was a child of your writings." And he added: "God reward you, my dear friend; this is now the second of mine at whose parting I have felt what a blessing your sermons and your love have been to them." At last, when the separation came, it was again in the heart of Newman that the bereaved father found consolation: "'Blessed be the name of the Lord.' Your prayers and those of my other friends have been heard; the child educated in, and (in a manner) of your sermons, has been accepted, and is in Paradise." Then, after heartrending details of her agony: "All at once her eyes opened wide, and I never saw such a gaze as at what was invisible to us, which continued for a long time; and after this had continued for some little while, she looked at me full in the face, and there came such an unearthly smile, so full of love also. . . . It turned at once all sorrow into joy: it seemed like one already in Paradise inviting me thither." In another passage he says: "I feel certain that it was our Blessed Lord whom she saw." It was from Newman that Pusey sought advice in regard to the epitaph, of a distinctly Catholic tone, which he placed upon her tomb: *Puella jam in votis Christo desponsata*. Did this communion over a tomb revive the illusions entertained by Pusey? He realized less than ever the radical change of his friend's belief. As in past days, so now he again consulted him on ecclesiastical matters. In August, 1844, Newman found himself obliged to declare in plain and even blunt terms his real sentiments in the Anglican Church. "I do not shut my eyes now," said Pusey. In his trouble he compared himself to a vessel threatened with shipwreck: "I

seem as if the waters were gathered in heaps on either side; yet trust that we are Israel and not Pharaoh's army, and so that they will not fall. . . . I can hardly do anything or take interest in anything; perhaps it is all the better that it is so; but it seems like building on with a mine under the foundations. . . ."¹ Although this trial was felt so keenly by Pusey, the effect was not lasting. A few months later, towards the close of 1844, he wrote to someone who had questioned him: "You are quite right in thinking that Newman has no feelings drawing him away from us: all his feelings and sympathies have been for our Church."²

The more acutely Pusey suffered and feared, the more he felt the need of strengthening and increasing his devotion. It is a curious fact that this man, so refractory to every attempt of Rome, went for his devotions to the Roman school. Seated by his daughter's death-bed, he read to her passages from the works of St. Francis of Sales; and when she was dying, he suggested to her the prayer of St. Ignatius, *Anima Christi*, and the invocation of the Holy Face. He had already in hand, under the title of *Devotional Library*, the publication of several Catholic works translated and adapted by him for the use of Anglicans, such as Avrillon's *Guides for Advent and Lent*, Surin's *Foundation of the Spiritual Life*, Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat*, St. Bonaventura's *Life of Our Lord*, and small manuals of devotion on the Passion and the Eucharist. In the prefaces to these books he spoke favourably of the doctrines of St. Ignatius of Loyola, and recommended Confession and bodily mortifications. He regretted that

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 407.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 445.

he had but an imperfect knowledge of what foreign Catholic authors had published on these matters, and in September, 1844, he wrote to Hope Scott, who was then travelling on the Continent, to get information about any Italian or German ascetic works suitable for his series. He also desired him to ascertain of spiritual directors particulars as to how they prescribed corporal penances, and especially the use of the "discipline," of which he wanted a specimen.¹ Pusey's publications helped many souls to the true faith by acclimatizing them, as it were, to Catholic piety. Witnesses are not wanting to prove that they had this result.² Pusey himself had no idea that such a result would be produced. Towards the end of 1843 he had consulted Newman on his Catholic publications, and in particular upon his wish to translate the Breviary. Newman believed himself bound in loyalty to warn him that such a work would lead minds to Rome. "I do not think our system will bear it," he said. "It is like sewing a new piece of cloth on an old garment." Pusey paid no heed to an objection which he did not understand. It required a revolt of Anglican opinion, and the intervention of the bishops at a later period, to make him put an end to these adaptations. Pusey decided, as a point of honour, not to allow himself to be prejudiced against the Roman Church on account of the irritation aroused in the minds of more than one High Churchman by the threats of secessions. Far from considering that Church as an enemy, he saw in her an ally, and addressed several rebukes to those of his friends who compared the

¹ *Memoirs of J. R. Hope Scott*, vol. ii., p. 45.

² See, for example, *Some Side-Lights on the Oxford Movement*, by Minima Parspartis, pp. 8, 9, 263.

seductions of Rome to those of Satan and Antichrist.¹ In vain he was warned that by so doing he exposed himself to suspicion. He paid no heed.² This conduct contrasted with that of Manning, who, on the contrary, judged it necessary to give pledges to the excited Protestant opinion, and at the close of 1843, whilst minds were still troubled at Newman's recent resignation, he preached from the very pulpit of St. Mary's at Oxford on November 5 (Guy Fawkes' Day) the sermon in which he violently attacked Popery and praised the Reformation. This event was severely judged by the Tractarian world, including, of course, Keble and Pusey. The following day the preacher, having called at Littlemore to see Newman to explain his conduct to him, was not admitted.³

II

One of the effects of Newman's resignation was to bridle the extremists. Ward, among others, took care not to be restrained. The provoking boldness of his writings naturally gave scandal to the older school of High Churchmen. Palmer, after having vainly besought

¹ Pusey wrote to Dr. Hook: "I am frightened at your calling Rome Antichrist, or a forerunner of it. I believe Antichrist will be infidel, and arise out of what calls itself Protestantism, and then Rome and England will be united in one to oppose it. . . . I think the sects see further than you do, in that they class 'Popery' and what they call 'Puseyism' together—i.e., that the Churches and what submits to authority will be on one side in the end, the sects and private judgment on the other. . . . I wish you would not let yourself be drawn off by your fears of 'Popery.' While people are drawn off to this, the enemy (heresy of all sorts, misbelief, unbelief) is taking possession of our citadel. Our real battle is with infidelity, and from this Satan is luring us off" (*Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 447).

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 456, 457.

³ *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. i., pp. 241, 253.

Newman to disavow Ward's views, decided, at the close of 1843, to publish a pamphlet in which he protested with sad severity against the Romanism of which some members of the Church of England made a display.¹ Ward met the attack. Deprived of his accustomed organ, the *British Critic*, which the terrified publisher had suspended, he undertook to write another pamphlet, which, under his fertile and hasty pen, developed in a few months into a large volume of 600 pages—heavy, confused, and ill-arranged, but containing solid and effective matter, and, above all, animated with rare moral fervour. It appeared in 1844, under the title *The Ideal of a Christian Church in Relationship with Existing Practices*. After establishing this ideal, the author pointed out how far the Church of England had departed from it. He condemned the Reformers from whom she had descended, denounced her want of agreement with the Fathers, her separation from the other parts of the Catholic Church, her subjection to the State, her want of theology, her weakness, her indifference to, or connivance with, heresy, and, above all, the lowness of her spiritual level, her total ignorance of asceticism, her inability to form or to nourish or even to apprehend the notion of sanctity. Then, in all these respects he contrasted this “degraded Church” with the Church of Rome, in which, in spite of certain corruptions, he recognized the essential marks of his ideal Church. Not that he drew the conclusion of any immediate union with Rome, for in his thought the Church of England retained her own individual existence; only he told her that she must transform herself, taking Rome as her

¹ *A Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of the “Tracts for the Times,” with Reflections on Existing Tendencies to Romanism.*

model. He challenged her to acknowledge the Divine Authority in the latter, and humbly to repent of the great sin she had committed in separating from her communion. The utmost he would yield was that this approximation to the Roman ideal might be proceeded with gradually, but that the end in view must not be hidden. Thus, instead of repudiating the Romanism of which Palmer had accused him, Ward only boasted of it, and rejoiced to see the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually taking possession of so many English Churchmen, and looked upon it "as the most happy, the most wonderful, and the most unheard-of event." Instead of sparing his opponents' susceptibilities, he delighted in provoking and irritating them. One would have said that, wearied and disgusted by a troubled, illogical, and equivocal situation, he had determined to hasten the crisis. How otherwise explain that, knowing as he did the feelings of the University and ecclesiastical authorities, he should have thrown down so clear a defiance as this: "Three years have passed since I said plainly that in subscribing the Articles I renounced no one Roman doctrine; yet I retain my Fellowship, which I hold on the tenure of subscription, and have received no ecclesiastical censure in any shape"?

No sooner did Ward's book appear than it was bitterly attacked. The moderate Tractarians were as displeased by it as others. Gladstone expressed this discontent in an article in the *Quarterly Review*. Even Newman himself, who had taken an interest in the composition of the work, was far from satisfied with the performance. Oakeley and a few young men were almost the only persons in full agreement with the author. What action would the authorities whom Ward had defied take? It was only at

the end of the University vacation in October, 1844, that the Board of Heads of Houses decided to raise the question. A decision was reached in the middle of December. A series of passages in Ward's book were declared to be incompatible with a loyal subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Board announced its intention of proposing to Convocation—(1) To condemn the book; (2) to deprive the author of his University degree; (3) to add to the subscription of the Articles demanded of members of the University a declaration that, under pain of expulsion, they must be understood in the sense in which they had originally been promulgated and in which they were actually imposed by the University. The Heads of Houses allowed themselves to be carried further in this matter than University feeling was prepared to go. Had they confined themselves to the first proposal they would have aroused hardly any opposition; but the second appeared more debatable, and the third roused the antagonism of even those who most blamed Ward's book. A general cry arose against this proposal to require a new test which would result in ostracizing a whole section of the University. The Tractarians, so recently divided, were unanimous in protesting. Pusey stated that if the declaration were demanded he would refuse to make it. Keble issued a pamphlet against it. Other High Churchmen still further estranged from Ward, such as Moberly and Gladstone, expressed their disapprobation. The opposition extended into the ranks of the Liberals. It was in them an indication of a new state of mind. Actuated hitherto by an animosity, the strength of which one may judge from Arnold's example, they had appeared eager in supporting all rigorous measures put in force

against the Tractarians. In 1841, at the time of the censure of *Tract* 90, Stanley, then absent from Oxford, was the only one of his party to regret that a step was taken to restrain the liberty of interpreting the Articles. In 1844 Arnold was dead, and Stanley's more tolerant views had gained ground. If Archbishop Whately, faithful to his early hostility, pressed the Heads of Houses to use rigour, Stanley and several others, such as Maurice, Donkin, Hull, and Milman, resisted their proposals, especially the new *test*. It appeared to them a matter of policy to defend, on behalf of those who did not think as they did, a liberty of interpretation which they intended to use on their own behalf in a different direction; and besides, it did not displease them to take under their slightly ironical and disdainful protection those Tractarians, whom, at the time of the Hampden affair, they had charged with intolerance. Even Tait himself, the instigator of the censure of 1841, published a closely argued pamphlet against the proposed declaration.

Disconcerted by so strong and so extensive an opposition, the Heads of Houses did not hide from themselves that by persisting in their first project they would encounter defeat. Convocation was to assemble on February 13, 1845. On January 23 a declaration was issued that the third proposition was withdrawn; but as the opponents of the Tractarians could not resign themselves not to aim higher and further than at Ward, two days later they forwarded a petition requesting Convocation to pronounce a formal censure against *Tract* 90, and on February 4 the Heads of Houses accepted this petition. They flattered themselves that the time left before the assembling of Convocation was too short to allow of any organized resistance. Never-

theless, the Tractarians bestirred themselves, Pusey being one of the most active. On this occasion, also, Stanley and his friends joined the opposition. Some influential persons, Gladstone among others, suggested that it was a case which the Proctors, one of whom was Church, a friend of Newman's, might very well veto. Was not this veto established for the very purpose of preventing hasty and ill-considered measures?

Convocation met on February 13 in the Sheldonian Theatre in the midst of a tremendous snow-storm. Nearly fifteen hundred members of the University crowded the hall, many of them coming from London and other parts of England. The excitement in both parties was intense. All Oxford was afoot, waiting with passionate anxiety for the result of the deliberation. For the most part, the undergraduates, by temperament hostile to abuse of authority, sided with the accused, and some of them expressed their feelings by climbing the top of the Radcliffe Library and pelting the Vice-Chancellor with snow-balls as he passed. When the assembly was opened and the Registrar had read the charges, Ward presented his defence. He had the Vice-Chancellor's permission to express himself in English, and spoke for over an hour with great conviction and self-possession, in terms he might have used in the Common Room of his own College, and without the least intention of flattering his judges. On the contrary, he simply stated his opinions, even those most likely to scandalize, irritate, and humiliate them. The whole foundation of his justification was the irremediable inconsistency of the Anglican Church. He admitted that he accepted the Articles in a non-natural sense, but he also defied the other Anglican parties to do

otherwise. He also mentioned in passing, and as if it could surprise no one, that he held the "whole cycle of Roman doctrine." No one spoke after Ward, and the voting began. The censure was carried by 777 to 391; the degradation by 569 to 511. When the third proposal, the condemnation of *Tract* 90, was brought forward, cries of *non* and *placet* filled the hall; but the tumult was dominated by the voice of the senior of the two Proctors, Guillemard, and the solemn formula *Nobis Procuratoribus non placet* was received with cheers. The Vice-Chancellor at once closed the sitting, and the assembly dispersed amid the falling snow. As he left the Theatre, Ward was received with cheers from the undergraduates, mingled with shouts of laughter, as in his haste he fell in the snow and his papers were seen flying from under his arm. In this singular personality there was always a risk that the ridiculous would be combined with the dramatic. A few days after this condemnation, which made him a sort of martyr, the news was spread that this great admirer of all Roman usages, including the celibacy of the clergy, was about to marry. This marriage had been arranged some time before, but was prudently kept secret until after the meeting of Convocation. In Oxford it caused great surprise, which, this time also, ended in laughter. The newspapers for some days were full of puns and satirical epithalamiums at the expense of the bridegroom. At once the sympathy so lately bestowed upon the victim of such a violent proceeding vanished away. It seemed that neither the person nor the cause deserved to be taken seriously. The result of the whole proceeding was unfavourable to the Tractarian party. If the Heads of Houses did not obtain all they desired from Convoca-

tion, the voting clearly established that the party was repudiated by the University upon which it had sought to lean, and which it had been on the point of leading and even dominating.

Ward's condemnation had an epilogue that aggravated its effect. Oakeley, his most devoted friend, who since 1839 had the charge of Old Margaret Street Chapel, London, was not satisfied with writing to the Vice-Chancellor of the University to inform him that he shared all the censured opinions: he felt it a point of honour to inform his bishop "that he held the whole Roman doctrine, though he did not claim the right to teach it." This sort of defiance was all the worse received as its author had already been in difficulties with the Episcopal authority. The type of service he had instituted in his chapel, with a view to put the doctrines of the Movement into practice, had caused him to be accused of Romanism, and on several occasions the Bishop of London had remonstrated with him. This time the prelate judged that repression was necessary, and, notwithstanding Oakeley's offer to resign his benefice, without further delay cited him before the Court of Arches,¹ which passed a sentence of perpetual suspension against the accused clergyman in June, 1845, on the ground of his "Romanizing opinions."

The disgrace of the Tractarians now seemed complete. They had been repudiated not only by the University, but by the Episcopate and by the Courts of Law. The would-be peacemakers, like Pusey, who prided themselves on their moderation, who had vainly interposed to

¹ Although the Court of Arches was only composed of lay judges, it nevertheless decided ecclesiastical cases in the province of Canterbury.

prevent a conflict, and had been unable to induce the one party to act with prudence, or the other with indulgence, were now compelled to witness in sadness the overthrow of their cause, and, dark as the present seemed, the future loomed darker still. They felt the direction of events slipping from them and the crisis drawing near. "The situation," said Manning, "seems to me to be one of the utmost gravity."

III

What effect would these events have on Newman? Would they be the signal for a secession that appeared daily more probable to all? This question occupied the minds of many, not only of old friends who were broken-hearted at the thought of separation, but of more than one opponent who could not prevent himself from fearing the consequence which such a loss would have upon the Church of England.¹ During the controversies which preceded the meeting of Convocation, even at the moment when *Tract* 90 was directly aimed at, Newman, in spite of the appeals of his alarmed friends, maintained his silence and showed only a scornful indifference. He himself has said, "I was on my death-bed as regards my membership of the Church of England." "The matter now going on," he wrote on February 11, 1845, "has not given me a moment's pain—nay, or interest. . . . I am too far gone for that." A few days previously he made still more disquieting remarks to Pusey: "I should not be honest if I did not begin by saying that I shall be glad, selfishly speaking, if this decree passes. Long indeed have I been

¹ See, for instance, a letter written by Jowett in January, 1845 (*Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, vol. i., p. 116).

looking for external circumstances to determine my course, and I do not wish this daylight to be withdrawn."¹

For some time past, indeed, the inner workings of Newman's mind had made great progress. His conscience was finally troubled in regard to an anticipation which had for long seemed to him a legitimate one, and it now took the form of the question; "Am *I* in safety were I to die to-night? Is it a mortal sin in *me*, not joining another communion?"² To escape this state of immobility he resolutely threw himself into a way which he believed would clear his doubts. He set himself to examine whether new dogmas with which he had hitherto reproached the Roman Church as being corruptions of the primitive faith were not, after all, only its natural development. This was to broach that theory of the development of religious doctrine the germ of which is to be found among certain Fathers, and which Wiseman, with his perspicuous foresight into the needs of his time and country, had expounded in a sermon at Derby in 1839,³ which may be thus summed up: Christian dogma, being a living idea, could not remain stationary; consequently, it was bound to be transformed, enriched, and enlarged, as a result of its relations with the world in which religion is called upon to exist. Moreover, no one can deny that this development took place at the beginning of the Church in the time of the Apostles, and there is no reason why it should have ceased at the death of the last of these Apostles; it has continued since according to circumstances and needs, and it will continue in the future. In

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 428, 429.

² Letter of January 8, 1845 (*Apologia*).

³ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 314-319.

point of fact, the deposit of faith is so vast that truths wrongly called new can be drawn from it until the end of time. If, then, error can manifest itself in rash innovations, it can also result through obstinacy in refusing to follow the idea in its legitimate evolution. What is important is to determine the characteristics which distinguish true from false development. These once decided upon, it remains only to see if such are found in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and if, above all, this development does not imply that that Church alone possesses an infallible authority to direct and preserve it.¹

It was in the beginning of 1843 that Newman had begun to consider this idea of development, and at the end of 1844, by way of definitely testing it and putting an end to his doubts, he decided to write an essay on the subject, and from the conclusions reached would depend his attitude in regard to his Church. Never has a book been composed under such conditions, or with such a stake at issue. When we read it to-day we feel a strange emotion at the thought that behind this scientific discussion, so informed and yet so compact, there is hidden the most personal and painful of dramas—that of a soul which breaks its dearest bonds in order to lift itself towards the light. We can say of it what the author said

¹ See in the *Revue du Clergé Français* of December 1, 1898, a remarkable article on "Le Développement Chrétien, d'après le Cardinal Newman." The author of the article, who concealed his name beneath a pseudonym, is one of the greatest of living exegesisists. He points to the resources which this theory offers to answer the objections which Antichristian science claims to draw from recent discoveries of historical criticism in regard to the origins of our religion. [The distinguished writer referred to here is the Abbé Alfred Loisy, who wrote under the pseudonym of M. Firmin.—*Translator's Note.*]

in it of dogma—that we are confronted, not by an abstract, immovable, and, as it were, an insensible idea, but one which lives, progresses, and enlarges—we might almost say, which is capable of suffering and of reward.

In the task thus undertaken and entered upon with the greatest ardour Newman was not long in finding the light he sought. The more he advanced, the more his uncertainties were removed. Towards the end of the winter of 1845 the issue seemed clear enough for him to warn his old friends who were not prepared to grasp the idea of his secession.¹ “My dear Pusey,” he wrote on February 25, “please do not disguise from yourself that as far as such outward matters go I am as much gone over as if I were *already gone*. It is a matter of time only. I am waiting; if so be that I am under a delusion it may be revealed to me.” And on March 12: “I suppose Christmas cannot come again without a break-up.”² In more than one respect the prospect of this break-up made his heart bleed; tears often came to his eyes at the dreaded severance of his friendships.

He wrote to R. W. Church on April 3: “I feel His hand heavy on me without intermission, who is all Wisdom and Love, so that my heart and mind are tired out, just as the limbs might be from a load on one’s back.”³ But does not even this suffering prove how imperious was the necessity he obeyed? In a letter to his sister, dated March 15, he enumerates some of the sacrifices he was making: “I have a good name with many: I am deliberately sacrificing it. I have a bad name with more:

¹ *Apologia; Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., pp. 457, 466.

² *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 448 *et seq.*

³ *Apologia*, chap. iv.

I am fulfilling all their worst wishes, and giving them their most coveted triumph. I am distressing all I love, unsettling all I have instructed or aided. I am going to those whom I do not know, and of whom I expect very little. I am making myself an outcast, and that at my age—oh! what can it be but a stern necessity which causes this?"¹ We have already had frequent occasion to point out that the sufferings he unwillingly caused others weighed on him more than his personal sacrifice; it was the predominant thought which continually returned to his mind, and which expressed itself in the pathetic tone of his letters; but now, thanks to the firmness of his convictions, he felt he possessed more strength to bear this sorrow. The sadness remained, but the struggle had ended. The unsettlement into which he threw some souls was still a source of grief, but he began to realize that this confusion might be for their good. "Though it is anything but my wish," he wrote on March 14, "that they should change *because* I do, of course it cannot pain me that they should take my change as a sort of warning, or call, to consider where the truth lies."² And, above all, no appeals, however affectionate and pathetic they were, affected his conviction. He answered the inquiries of his friends who wrote to him with emotion, but also with firmness. It was in that way that he wrote to Pusey, who in March had sent him a last adjuration. He gave a lengthy account of the progress of his mind, his first doubts, what he did to reject them and to find even against all hope an acceptable foundation for his Church, and how his efforts failed.³ This time Pusey

¹ *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, vol. ii., p. 459.

² Letter of March 14, 1845 (*Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 450, 451).

³ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 453.

could no longer foster any illusions. He felt the blow struck at "his poor Church." On March 21 he wrote: "Besides our personal loss, it is a break-up, and I suppose such a rent as our Church has never had. Besides those already unsettled, hundreds will be carried from us." He saw only one means of retaining them. "I am hoping," he wrote to Keble a little later, "that people may come to think that he has a special mission and call, and so that it may not be looked upon as an example to all who have learnt of him." This idea, although somewhat singular, was not entertained by Pusey merely as a piece of tactics: it was a conviction born of the impossibility of reconciling in any other way his esteem for Newman, and his attachment to the Church that Newman was abandoning. "I have myself looked upon this as a mysterious dispensation, as though (if it be indeed so) Almighty God were drawing him, as a chosen instrument, for some office in the Roman Church (although he himself goes, of course, not as a reformer, but as a simple act of faith), and so I thought that He might be pleased to give him convictions (if it be so) which He does not give to others. At least, I have come into this way of thinking since I have realized to myself that it was likely to be thus."¹ Those who knew and loved Newman could not think evil of him, even when they did not believe that they ought to follow him. One of these was Marriott, who, at the thought of this coming separation, could only answer in touching terms, on January 15, by recalling how the whole conduct of Newman "towards the Church of England and towards us who have striven, and are still striving, to seek after God for ourselves . . . has been

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., p. 453.

generous and considerate, and, were that word appropriate, 'dutiful.' " He adds with his customary humility: "I have felt with pain every link that you have severed, and I have asked no questions, because I felt that you ought to measure the disclosure of your thoughts according to the occasion, and the capacity of those to whom you spoke. I write in haste, in the midst of engagements engrossing in themselves, but partly made tasteless, partly embittered, by what I have heard; but I am willing to trust even you, whom I love best on earth, in God's hand, in the earnest prayer that you may be so employed as is best for the Holy Catholic Church."¹ Before taking the last step which he thus announced to his friends, Newman imposed on himself the task of finishing his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*. He worked without intermission, giving up his whole time to it. He hardly allowed himself more than a few minutes after each meal to spend in the company of the young men then in the community of Littlemore—St. John, Dalgairns, Bowles, and Stanton; then, with his habitual charm of conversation, he would talk of a thousand subjects in preference to memories of the past, but never of the task that occupied him or of the momentous question that burdened his conscience and theirs. It seemed to be tacitly admitted that the time for argument and controversy had past, and that prayer and meditation in common were the best means of co-operating with Divine Grace. Newman had made only one exception among these young men, his dear Ambrose St. John, to whom he at times revealed some of his secret thoughts, and who then filled, in a heart that had so great a need of tender-

¹ *Apologia*.

ness and affection, the place left empty by the gradual estrangement of his former friends.¹ The other disciples contented themselves with respectfully observing, and also with religious awe, their inscrutable Rector, absorbed in his mysterious task, always standing at his desk, where he wrote for as many as fourteen hours a day. They have since related that he seemed to them to grow paler and thinner each day, until he appeared almost transparent in the light of the sunny window where he worked. But if Newman was silent, more than one sign allowed his companions to divine whither he was tending. It was noticed that he ceased to read the Anglican Communion Service; it was intimated to one of the inmates but recently come that unless he were prepared to join the Roman Communion he would not be admitted into the little community. Yet all this remained secret; no one spoke openly at Littlemore of the event which all foresaw.²

Near as Newman then was to his conversion, he persisted in holding himself aloof from Catholics, especially from priests, for whom he still retained something of his old distrust and antipathy. He declared that he had no existing sympathies with Roman Catholics, and that he hardly ever, even abroad, was at one of their services; he knew none of them, and did not like what he heard of

¹ George Eliot could find nothing more pathetic or more affectionate than the epilogue of the *Apologia*: "To you especially, dear Ambrose St. John, whom God gave me when He took everyone else away; who are the link between my old life and my new; who have now for twenty-one years been so devoted to me, so patient, so zealous, so tender; who have let me lean so hard upon you; who have watched me so narrowly; who have never thought of yourself if I was in question." St. John became one of the first companions of Newman in founding the Oratory.

² *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 425, 427; *Cardinal Newman*, by R. H. Hutton, p. 185.

them. Thus up to the end this return to the truth was in some sort the spontaneous work of certain Anglican souls without any outside intervention, or, to speak more exactly, it was the direct and immediate working of Divine Grace which led to this extraordinary and unprecedented result—men who, in the words of two of the converts, submitted to the Church without having been influenced by any member of that Church, or having ever entered into a Catholic Church or spoken to a priest.¹

In a letter addressed to the French Bishops, Wiseman was the first to recognize "that what was passing in England could neither be attributed to the activity of Catholics or to the preaching of the clergy." "Quite the contrary," he added with great modesty, "all intervention on our part to hasten the issue of the important movement only resulted in delaying rather than forwarding the appeals it suggested." Hence he hailed it as a spontaneous action of grace and a Providential succession of circumstances.² Wiseman was all the more anxious and impatient as he was reduced to an inaction singularly painful to his ardent nature. Ward's trial, all the vicissitudes of which he had followed with anxiety, appeared to him certain to precipitate events, and after the condemnation he daily awaited news of Newman's abjuration. But weeks and months passed without anything being declared. The delay was the more trying as he could do nothing to shorten it. Around him he saw a feeling of triumph at his deception on the part of those Catholics who had always regarded his hopes as chimerical, and

¹ Cf. Morris, *Catholic England in Modern Times*, and Cardinal Manning in the introduction to *England and Christendom*, p. xxxiv.

² Quoted by Père Ragey, *La Crise Religieuse en Angleterre*, p. 51.

who had recently welcomed Sibthorpe's apostasy as a salutary lesson to him. In July, being no longer able to wait, he sent a recent convert, Bernard Smith, to Littlemore, under pretext of seeing Newman, to find out what passed there. Newman received Smith with marked coldness, and after exchanging a few words he went out of the room, leaving him in the company of his young disciples. The latter showed themselves more inclined to talk, and after exchanging ideas upon matters of doctrine or practice, displayed a somewhat uneasy curiosity in regard to the Catholic priests in whose company their former colleague now lived at Oscott. Were they not "impossible" people as companions? They were surprised and reassured, on being told by one whose habits and tastes were identical with their own, that he was happy at Oscott. At dinner-time Newman reappeared, and as he stood for a moment in the middle of the room, Smith noticed that he wore grey trousers. Knowing his excessive strictness as to clerical costume, the fact appeared very significant. This hint satisfied Smith, and on his return he emphatically declared to Wiseman, "He will come, and come soon."¹

IV

In August, 1845, the report was spread that Ward had decided to precede Newman in entering the Roman Church. He had reached a point at which very little was required to determine him. The initiative came from his wife. Copying one of his articles for the press, she came across a passage in which he repeated what he had often said, that the Church of Rome was the true Church. She

¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 424, 429.

stopped as soon as she had copied half the article, and said: "I cannot stand it; I shall go and be received into the Catholic Church." This led Ward to reflect on his own position. "A little sooner or a little later makes no difference," he said; "I will go with you." On August 13 he addressed a circular letter to his friends, in which he announced and justified his resolve, and at the beginning of September his abjuration was completed.¹ On the 29th of the same month it was Dalgairns' turn; St. John followed suit on October 2; and Stanton, on quitting Littlemore, informed Newman of his intention of being received at Stonyhurst. "Why should we not be received together?" was Newman's answer. "Father Dominic, the Passionist, comes here on the 8th to receive me. Come back on that day."² Newman had, in truth, made his decision. On October 3, without giving any reasons, he requested the Provost of Oriel to erase his name from the College and University books. On the morning of the 8th he wrote in a short letter to several friends to inform them of what he was about to do. "This letter," he added in a postscript, "will not go till all is over. Of course it requires no answer."³ Two days before he wrote the last lines of his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, and added that personal conclusion of which Stanley speaks as one of the most affecting passages ever written by an uninspired pen.⁴

"Such were the thoughts concerning the 'blessed vision of peace,' of one whose long-continued petition had been that the Most Merciful would not despise the work of His

¹ *W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement*, pp. 357, 366.

² *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 429.

³ *Apologia*.

⁴ *Life of Stanley*, vol. i., p. 345.

own hands nor leave him to himself, while yet his eyes were dim and his breast laden, and he could but employ Reason in the Things of Faith. And now, dear reader, time is short, eternity is long. Put not from you what you have here found; regard it not as mere matter of present controversy. Set not out resolved to refute it and looking about for the best way of doing so; seduce not yourself with the imagination that it comes of disappointment, or disgust, or restlessness, or wounded feeling, or undue sensibility or other weakness. Wrap not yourself round in the associations of years past, nor determine that to be truth which you wish to be so, nor make an idol of cherished anticipations. Time is short, eternity is long. *Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine secundum verbum tuum in pace. Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum !*"

Father Dominic, whom Newman summoned without informing him of his exact motive, was a Passionist, an Italian by birth and of very humble origin, who had lived in England since 1841. Newman had seen him for a few minutes at Littlemore in the preceding year, and appreciated his simplicity and piety. He liked him all the better because, as he wrote while under the influence of his prejudices, "he had little to do with conversions."

On the evening of October 8 Father Dominic arrived in pouring rain at Littlemore. All was silent. Notice was given to friends in the neighbourhood that "Mr. Newman desired to be alone." None were present but two recent converts, Dalgairns and St. John, and two disciples, Stanton and Bowles, who were to abjure with their master. The Passionist had just arrived, and was drying himself by the fire, when Newman entered the room, prostrated himself at his feet, begged his blessing, and asked him to hear his Confession. The night was spent in prayer. On the following day Stanton and Bowles confessed in their turn. All three made their profession of faith

that evening, and received conditional baptism. Father Dominic was filled with admiration at their fervour. On the morning of the roth he said Mass upon the altar-stone which St. John had borrowed from Oxford, and gave Communion to the five. Thus was accomplished in simplicity, silence, and solitude the great event the preparation of which occupied and troubled souls for so many years, and the consequences of which still bear fruit.

Newman's secession, though foreseen by all, aroused great excitement. "It is impossible," says Mark Pattison, "to describe the enormous effect produced in the academical and clerical world, I may say throughout England, by one man's changing his religion."¹ Gladstone declared: "I regard Newman's secession as an event as unexampled as an epoch."² Later Disraeli declared "that this conversion had dealt a blow to England from which she yet reeled," and a leading English historian, Lecky, has described the secession of Newman and his followers as "quite unparalleled in magnitude since that which had taken place under the Stuarts."³ When the news was published the first feeling which was dominant, except for the rancorous clamours of a few Protestant fanatics, in Oxford and in the more intelligent Anglican circles was one of respectful sadness and also of anxious anticipation. People asked each other in alarm what would be the probable consequences of such a blow to the Established Church. Everybody had a presentiment that more than one follower would accompany the leader in his exodus.

¹ *Memoirs of Mark Pattison*, p. 212.

² Letter of December 10, 1845 (*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i., p. 328).

³ Quoted by Wilfrid Ward (*Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 438).

Oakeley was one of the first to follow, then Faber, long a Catholic in heart, conviction, and practice,¹ and many others, including numerous clergymen and University graduates. More than three hundred conversions have been reckoned as the immediate result of Newman's, and the movement continued for several years, or, to speak more accurately, has never since stopped. Nothing similar had been seen since the Reformation. Faithful Anglicans in awe asked themselves what would be the end of these defections. "Every morning at breakfast," writes one of them, "we took our places feeling depressed, waiting for the sorrowful news that such a one had gone over and such another about to go."² In certain minds, however,

¹ Faber's conversion was delayed by pecuniary difficulties—debts incurred for the improvement of his parish, which the resignation of his benefice would have prevented his discharging. On hearing of his perplexity, a friend, who looked askance at conversions, wrote to him expressing sorrow that such a man as he was should have his freedom thus impeded, and enclosed a cheque for the amount required, on the condition that the subject should never be mentioned between them. On November 16, 1845, he preached at the Elton Evening Service for the last time. He told his people that the doctrines he had taught them, though true, were not those of the Church of England; and, consequently, he could not remain in her communion, but must go where truth was to be found. Then he hastily descended the pulpit stairs, threw off his surplice, which he left upon the ground, and made his way as quickly as possible to the Rectory. For a few moments the congregation remained in blank astonishment, and then, while the majority turned slowly homeward, some of the leading parishioners went to implore the Rector to reconsider his decision. He might preach whatever doctrine he pleased, they said, and they would never question it, if he would only remain with them; but, finding him immovable, they took a sorrowful farewell. Early next morning, as he was leaving Elton with seven of his parishioners, likewise resolved to become Catholics, the windows throughout the village were thrown open, and the poor people waved their handkerchiefs, and sobbed out, "God bless you, Mr. Faber, wherever you go!" (*Life and Letters of Father F. W. Faber*, pp. 235, 238).

² *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 232.

the effect was that of a recoil; they were thrown into scepticism. Such were J. A. Froude and Mark Pattison; according to the expression of the latter, the master's conversion stunned them. "The sensation to us was as of a sudden end of all things, and without a new beginning."¹

The younger disciples of Newman were the most eager to follow him. Their other attachments were less strong, and their habits of mind more easily broken. On the contrary, those dearest to his heart, his old friends, remained on the shore he had left. If Keble may have been shaken for a moment, the shock did not last. Pusey, Marriott, Rogers, Isaac Williams, and Church, did not appear to have a moment's hesitation. To their state of mind and the efforts they made to reanimate their party, and in their turn to establish a *Via Media*, we shall have occasion to return later on in the course of this history. Let us only note here that under the first blow of so sorrowful and threatening a separation not one word of blame or bitterness was spoken of the friend who deserted them. Keble wrote on October 11, at the first news of what was to him a "thunderbolt":

MY DEAREST NEWMAN,

You have been a kind and helpful friend to me in a way in which scarce anyone else could have been, and you are so mixed up in my mind with old and dear and sacred thoughts, that I cannot bear well to part with you—most unworthy as I know myself to be—and yet I cannot go along with you. I must cling to the belief that we are not really parted—you have taught me so, and I scarce think you can unteach me—and having relieved my mind with this little word, I will only say, God bless you and reward you a thousandfold all your help in every way to

¹ *Memoirs of Mark Pattison*, p. 235.

one unworthy, and to so many others. May you have peace when you are gone, and help us in some way to get peace; but somehow I scarce think it will be in the way of controversy. And so with somewhat of a feeling as if the spring had been taken out of my year,

I am always your affectionate and grateful

J. KEBLE.¹

Others endeavoured to show themselves equally affectionate. Nevertheless, in spite of their efforts, a feeling of awkwardness and constraint was evident. Between them and the convert there was something irrevocably broken. Pusey, after a visit to Newman, complained that there was something "sharp" in Newman's manner. Newman replied by complaining, in his turn, that they were disposed to pass a severe judgment on the converts. "Alas!" he said, "I have no alternative between silence and saying what would pain. May the day come when it will not be so! Then old times will come again, and happier. . . . What good, therefore, is there in meeting to mistake each other."² Soon, in fact, all relations were broken between these men who had cared so much for one another; only long afterwards was the friendship renewed.

In place of these lost friendships Newman could only look to the company of those Catholics whom he had avoided for so long. His first meeting with them was on October 31 at Oscott, where he had gone with several new converts to be confirmed by Bishop Wiseman. As the able biographer relates, it seemed as if the great Oxford leader, owning that Rome had conquered, came to surrender his sword to the man who had so long and

¹ *John Keble*, by Walter Lock, p. 128.

² *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 507, 508.

strenuously urged him to do so. At first the interview was not without some embarrassment on both sides. Wiseman, who, in the presence of a man lately come forth from such a struggle, wished neither to speak in a tone of triumph nor to use commonplace congratulations, contented himself with a few inquiries about the journey. While the two principal figures sat almost silent opposite each other, their companions spoke more freely. After a short interval, the Bishop, being told that a boy was waiting to go to Confession, seized upon the excuse to retire. The day following the Confirmation they met again, and the ice was broken. "He opened his mind completely to me," Wiseman wrote some days later, "and I assure you the Church has not received at any time a convert who has joined her in more docility and simplicity of faith than Newman. . . . At present I feel as if I were only too free from crosses, for, excepting my health, I have no source of suffering, for as to anxiety, even that does not give me any. I have often said I should be ready to sing my *Nunc dimittis* when Mr. Newman should have joined us; and I must not go back on my word."¹

When the ceremony was over Newman and his companions returned to Littlemore, where they remained for some months, until their destination was decided upon. They were informed that the old College near Oscott, which they subsequently called Maryvale, was put at their disposal. On February 22, 1846, Newman finally left Littlemore. On his way through Oxford, where he spent a night, several of his friends, including Pusey and Church, came to take leave of him. With a broken heart, of which many of his writings give evidence, he tore himself away

¹ *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 430, 435.

from Oxford and its Colleges, which had held so large a place in his life.¹

The sacrifice was complete. Newman had renounced everything—his position, his friends, even his family, no members of which followed him in his conversion—and had joined himself to men whom he did not know, against whom he was prejudiced, and many of whom were also prejudiced against him. Can it be asked if he was humanly rewarded for his sacrifice? No; in thus breaking with the past, it was not with the view of obtaining any advantage, but solely to find the light and to possess the truth. Upon this point his hope was realized. Nearly twenty years afterwards, at an epoch when he had just reason to complain of his new co-religionists, he openly proclaimed “the perfect peace and contentment that he enjoyed since his conversion.” He declared “that he had never had one doubt,” and that “it was like coming into port after a rough sea; and my happiness on that score remains to this day without interruption.”² God did not deceive the hopes of him who had so faithfully answered His call, and Newman found in that his support against what sometimes must have seemed to him the ingratitude of men. Does the fact suffice to console us, when we know that those to whom he came did not understand how to use the incomparable power that he brought to them? Gladstone, in reference to Newman’s conversion, said that the year 1845 marked “the greatest victory which the Church of Rome had gained since the Reformation.” Did Catholics fully realize how to profit by this victory?

¹ The pain of this farewell is hinted at in the *Apologia*, but is still more plainly seen in some passages of *Loss and Gain*, a novel, in which the author is less reserved, since he himself is not directly depicted.

² *Apologia*.

PART II

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR

ON reaching this point in the history which I have undertaken to write, I am confronted with a difficulty. Up to now everything has been concerned with the "Oxford Movement" and with the personality of Newman. This unity of subject no longer exists, for now we have to deal with two currents of thought absolutely distinct. The first, along with Newman and the numerous converts who followed in his steps, has now become merged in the ancient Catholic Church in England, which was refreshed and encouraged by them. The other, though still remaining Anglican, has unceasingly tended towards Catholicism, both in ideas and practices; and the transformation which resulted supplies an interesting and curious part of what I have called the "Catholic Revival in England." Will the day ever dawn when these two currents shall unite? Anyhow, it has not come yet, and the various attempts towards union which have been made from time to time within the last fifty years have ended in nothing but disappointment, so that these

CHAPTER VI

THE CONVERTS

I. Attitude of the Catholic world towards the new converts.

II. Publications in which they explain their change—Newman and his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*—He publishes an article on Keble's *Christian Year*—His reserve towards his former friends—His correspondence with Pusey.

III. The converts and prospects—Newman at Rome—He decides to found the Oratory in England—Faber and his followers join him. IV. Wiseman Vicar-Apostolic of the London District—He develops Catholic life—Newman publishes *Loss and Gain*—Great effect of his preaching—His influence on individuals—His correspondence with Allies and Hope.

I

THE conversion of Newman and his companions at the close of 1845 and the beginning of 1846 was a gain for the Catholic Church in England such as she had not enjoyed since the time of the Reformation; but it carried with it a certain embarrassment. As a rule, when new converts submit to the Church, they have been sought out, often one by one, and they have been instructed, guided, and taught little by little to become disciples of the Church. But there was nothing like this here. The converts had trained and prepared themselves, under the mysterious influence of Divine Grace; in their theological evolution no priests had influenced them. Moreover, they had come over in a body in a kind of sudden influx, fresh from the controversies through which

they had passed. They had come from a powerful and aristocratic Church, and from a University proud of its intellectual pre-eminence. They were necessarily conscious of their importance; some among them were men evidently chosen by God to guide others. Now, the communion which they had joined was, in England, small, weak, humbled, enfeebled by three centuries of persecution, and to all appearance resigned to occupy a position of social inferiority, and with a clergy whose birth and education were far inferior to those of the Anglican clergy. In this state of things, was there not a danger that the new converts might pose as conquerors who would try to influence the Church, rather than as subjects who had made their submission; and that, willingly or not, they would instil into the minds of Catholics ideas, or at least habits of thought, which were tainted by their Protestant training?

Uneasiness and apprehension of this kind were naturally felt by the Catholics of that period with the memory of centuries of persecution, which had tended to narrow their views, and to make them look askance at what was out of the quiet beaten track. They had all along looked upon the Oxford Movement with suspicion, except when they had wholly ignored it; and the conversions to which it had now led, and for which they had never dared to hope, failed to open their eyes to its true character. Some were even disposed to look upon the danger as more than ever grave since the enemy had penetrated the citadel, and there were even priests who congratulated themselves upon having no converts in their parish. Of this narrow school, Dr. Griffiths, then Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, and head of the Catholic clergy in England, was

a type. He was a man of grave and dignified life, but with no understanding of the drift of contemporary movement, suspicious of any novel enterprise, and only anxious to guard religiously the traditions of the years of persecution, and to shield his little flock from mischievous outside influences. When one of the new converts, Mr. Ward, called upon him, eager to know what special work was to be entrusted to his zeal, the Bishop merely greeted him with these words: "We are glad to welcome you, Mr. Ward. Of course, we have no work for you." But happily there were Catholics with larger views, ready to receive the new converts with open arms, and, what was still better, with open hearts. Among these were influential laymen like Lord Shrewsbury and Mr. Phillips de Lisle, and saintly monks like Father Ignatius Spencer. Above all, there was Dr. Wiseman, who, though still only President of Oscott, possessed a daily-increasing authority with his fellow-Catholics. With triumphant gladness he welcomed in these unprecedented conversions the realization of the hopes which he had cherished from the beginning, and to which he had clung when others looked upon them as illusions. In his eyes they were the opening of a new era, full of promise.¹

The attitude of the new converts was all that their friends had predicted. They one and all showed themselves from the very first humble and docile children of the Church whose divine authority they had recognized. They were not entirely free from prejudices, nor were all

¹ See an article in the *Dublin Review* for December, 1845. About the same time Dr. Wiseman, in a kind of private *Memorandum*, gave expression to the sadness he felt at the opposition on the part of the old Catholics to the converts (see *Life of Wiseman*, by Wilfrid Ward, vol. i., p. 447).

the persons and things which they saw in accordance with their tastes and habits of thought. For a long time, for instance, it fretted and humiliated them to see that the Catholic clergy were not in a social and intellectual sense on an equality with the Anglican clergy; Ward, with his habit of saying out everything that he thought, made no secret of this, even when he spoke to Protestants.¹ But Newman and his companions at least were profoundly touched at the deep faith, unselfishness, devotion, and self-sacrifice which they observed among the members of the clergy. Above all, they noticed with surprise how simple, straightforward, and open they were; how free from the unctuous pretence and craftiness which they had been taught to look upon as the characteristics of every Roman priest.² What helped the converts to put up with things which at first sight startled them in the demeanour of certain of their fellow-Catholics, what consoled them also in the often cruel sacrifices they had made—their career shattered, their finances ruined, their families and friends estranged—was the deep interior peace which they enjoyed. In the long agony of past years, when they felt themselves drawn towards the Catholic Church, they had asked themselves with feelings of terror whether they would find that they had been deceived after taking

¹ "English Catholics," said Ward one day to Jowett, "don't know what education means. Many of them can't write English. When a Catholic meets a Protestant in controversy, it is like a barbarian meeting a civilized man."

² "When I became a Catholic," wrote Newman later on in his *Apologia*, "nothing struck me more at once than the English outspoken manner of the priests. It was the same at Oscott, at Old Hall Green, at Ushaw; there was nothing of that smoothness or mannerism which is commonly imputed to them, and they were more natural and unaffected than many an Anglican clergyman."

the momentous step: as so often already they had found out that ideas on which they had once rested had given way under them. And yet, as they one and all bore witness, when once they had been received, their happiness was complete. They found light after groping in the dark; after so much agitation they found peace. A Protestant who met them at this time could not help observing the sense of security of the converts under a real religious authority, and the joy which inundated them at the thought that henceforth they formed a part of "Universal Christendom." Newman, later on, compared what he had been through to the feelings of one "coming into port after a rough sea," and he added: "From the time that I became a Catholic. . . . I have been in perfect peace and contentment; I never have had one doubt." Faber wrote, on the day after his reception:

"A new light seems to be shed on everything, and more especially on my past position—a light so clear as to surprise me; and though I am homeless and unsettled, and as to worldly prospects considerably bewildered, yet there is such a repose of conscience as more than compensates for the intense and fiery struggle which began on the Tuesday and only ended on the Monday morning following."

And after dictating another letter, which he was too unwell to write himself, he added, with his own hand, the words: "Peace, peace, peace!"

II

Many of the converts felt it their duty to publish their reasons for becoming Catholics, for the benefit of those they had left. Ward did this in August, 1845, in a letter which he sent round to his Protestant

friends. The letter, which was couched in his accustomed dialectical manner, showed that his conversion was the logical consequence of the views which he had always held. In the closing months of this same year, Oakeley published a letter, in which, after recalling the fact that he had for a long time been trying to reconcile the Roman and Anglican systems, he declared that he had at last recognized that to attempt to infuse the Roman spirit into the Anglican body was like putting new wine into old bottles, the effect of which was to break the bottles and spill the wine. About the same time, Marshall, one of the converts, published his *Twenty-two Reasons for Entering the Catholic Church*, and soon afterwards Faber, in the form of a letter to a friend, shows the baselessness of the reasons which some people allege for remaining in Anglicanism, and refutes the charge brought against the converts of being ungrateful to their former Church. A few of the neophytes, in the ardour of their zeal, engaged in controversies, the tone of which was not always calculated to win over those who were opposed to them. Their consciousness of having found the truth lent a kind of exultation to their words, which seemed to be tinctured with a certain pride. To friends who had not followed their example they manifested a contemptuous pity, at the same time laying stress upon the weak points of Anglicanism and on the fallacy of those who were trying to Catholicize it. Such, for instance, was an article by Oakeley, in which he took Pusey to task in a way that scarcely accorded with Pusey's position, or with the relations which had formerly existed between them.¹ Enlightened Catholics quickly perceived this fault.

¹ *Dublin Review*.

The most illustrious of the converts, Newman, seemed at this early period to have as little taste for attracting public notice as for joining issue with his former friends. He considered that he had sufficiently explained himself in the book he had published at the moment of his reception—the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, at which he had laboured for two years, and the composition of which had gradually brought conviction to his mind. This wonderful book, though written outside the Church, brought to her defence a new system of apologetics, which was all the more efficacious since it refuted the attacks of modern writers. The effect of the book was great. The first edition was bought up at once. An Anglican clergyman, the Rev. T. W. Allies, who five years later became a Catholic, has described the eager curiosity with which he and many others looked out for this book, in which they hoped to find the direction and light which they needed. Thus he wrote in his journal, under date November 27, 1845: "Went into Oxford to get J. H. N.'s book, so anxiously waited for, and with a combination of opposite feelings—love, fear, curiosity; . . . returned in evening with my treasure."

Nor did convinced members of the Established Church fail to realize its important and formidable nature. Gladstone urged his theological friends to reply to it; but the task was too hard, the very novelty of the subject perplexed them, and those who, like Manning, undertook a refutation soon abandoned it. Anxious as Newman was not to be mixed up in polemics, he could not refuse Wiseman's earnest entreaty that he would write an article for the *Dublin Review*. He chose for his subject a volume of religious poetry recently published by his old friend,

Keble, *The Lyra Innocentium*, a sort of complement of *The Christian Year*. In this article we look in vain for those acerbities which had appeared in the work of some other writers. The author, though setting out with a brief allusion to current controversies, and to the attacks directed against the converts, of which he rejoices to find no trace in Keble's book, writes with a dignity and reserve which are tinged with sadness :

"We are not here crying for mercy, but asking justice, demanding common English fairness; we have a right to expect, but we do not find, that considerate, compassionate, comprehensive judgment upon their conduct, which, instead of fixing on particular isolated points in it, views it as a whole,—uses the good, which is its general character, to hide its incidental faults."¹

"When men of education," he continues, "of good abilities, of blameless lives, make great sacrifices, give up their place in society, their friends and their means of living, in order to join another communion, it is a strong argument, as far as any single argument is strong, for that communion's claim on the dutiful regard of Christians generally. And in the instances before us, the argument told with particular cogency on those persons, and they were not few, who were united to the converts by ties of friendship, kindred, or gratitude. In consequence it became very necessary for those who had no doubts or difficulties, to show to all who wavered or might waver, that there was something faulty in the mode in which the seceding parties had severally detached themselves from their original communion,—some fault such as to invalidate the testimony of each, and to destroy its logical and rhetorical force. . . . Good friends, you have not far to seek; *habetis confitentem reum*; he pleads guilty; he has given up a fellowship or a living, or he has forfeited an inheritance, or ruined the prospects or present provision of wife and children, or damaged his reputation for judgment or discernment; he has cheerfully made himself

¹ *Essays, Critical and Historical.*

a scoff, submitted himself as a prey to the newspapers, has made himself strange to his brethren. . . . He leaves his critics to that judgment to which he himself appeals. May they who have spoken or written harshly of recent converts to the Catholic Church, receive at the Great Day more lenient measure than they have in this case given!"

In this passage one recognizes the accents of parts of the *Apologia* which Newman was to write seventeen years later. But he does not now dwell upon the point. He is content with these few words, and leaving controversy aside, he gladly praises Keble's book and the sentiments it inspires, joyfully transcribing more than one passage referring to the Blessed Virgin. He does not, indeed, fail to recognize that Keble, by his personal example, and by his poetry, was a great prop to the Church of England; that he had done for her what none other could have done, had rendered her poetical; that he had invested her with the appearance of that which the Catholic Church alone possesses in reality; but Newman believes that the effect of this is but temporary and that the final result will be Catholicism.

"Such a volume as this," he declares, "is a clear evidence that what is sometimes called 'the movement' in the Anglican Church is not at an end. We do not say that it is spreading—or that it will obtain permanent footing in the communion in which it has originated,—or that it will or will not lead to a reaction, and eventually protestantize—or again weaken—a religious body, to which, under favourable circumstances, it might have brought strength. We are not prophets; we do but profess to draw conclusions. . . . Nor can we venture on predicting the destiny of individuals who are connected with [the movement]. . . . We only mean to say, that more has still to come of the opinions, which have lately found such acceptance in the Church of England, because they are still alive within its pale."

While Newman declined all public controversy, he was also singularly reserved in his private intercourse with his former friends and disciples who remained Anglicans. We have already seen how scrupulously he respected the independence of each individual conscience. His conversion had been a work done in his own soul by the action of Divine Grace, and he had ever been impatient of outside interference. It seemed to him that others had a right to the same consideration.¹ He had the great sorrow of seeing those who were so near to his heart remaining Anglicans, such as the members of his own family, his brothers and sisters, and some of his oldest and most intimate friends, among them Keble, Pusey, Church, Marriott, Rogers. He would not allow himself to put any pressure upon these men, though they were so dear to him. To this rule he made one exception. From Pusey alone he could not hide his great longing, but he acted towards him with the utmost delicacy and prudence. His meetings with Pusey after his conversion had not been free from embarrassment, and he had reluctantly and with sorrow come to the conclusion that it was better that they should not meet. Not long afterwards, however, on February 26, 1846, he wrote, in reply to a few words from Pusey :

“Thank you for your affectionate message. I only wish to say that I cannot believe, and never shall believe, that one who is the object of so many prayers, such as those that are now offered for you, from Rome to England and Constantinople, can remain till the end where you now

¹ Newman actually reproached himself a few years later with having carried this reserve too far. “My great temptation is to be at *peace*,” he wrote on November 20, 1850, “and let things go on as they will, and not trouble myself about others.”

are. And I am strengthened in this hope by observing how much you have changed your views year by year. I believe it would be difficult to point to any year at the end of which you held the same view of the Church of Rome as you held at the beginning; and each one of these changes has brought you nearer to that Church."

Then, after explaining that the delay did not make him impatient, he concludes: "God has His own good time for everything." But he adds:

"What does make me anxious is, whenever I hear that, in spite of your evident approximation in doctrine and view to the Roman system, you are acting in hostility against it, and keeping souls in a system which you cannot bring out into words, as I consider, or rest upon any authority besides your own. Excuse this freedom, and do not let me pain you. I am in a house in which Christ is always present, as He was to His disciples, and where one can go in from time to time through the day to gain strength from Him. Perhaps this thought makes me bold and urgent."

Pusey did not reply at once, but a fortnight later he ends a letter containing news of Isaac Williams thus: "Thank you very much for your affectionate note. I have given a wrong impression about myself in some things. But I have not time to explain now. And explanation could only give pain."

Such an answer was not likely to make Newman hopeful. He nevertheless seized the opportunity which Easter gave him to write thus to his friends, under date April 15: "I do not like Easter to pass without your getting a line from me to assure [you] of my love and constant thoughts of you."

To this Pusey returned no answer. Newman waited until July 11 before writing again. This time he has been

commissioned to announce to Pusey the news of a friend's conversion. He begins his letter thus: "I wish it were not my lot to write letters distressing to your kind heart. It will not always be so, I do believe. Our present sorrows are the necessary process of a joyful end."

But Pusey determined to leave his friend under no further illusion as to his state of mind:

"I did not write sooner, partly because I have been much overworked for a long time . . . partly because I thought I could hardly write anything which could not pain you. For you have one wish for me; and I am no nearer that than heretofore. I cannot unmake myself; I cannot see otherwise than I have seen these many years; I have come to think otherwise in some details; but as [to] the one point upon which all turns, I am no nearer to thinking that the English Church is no true part of the Church. . . . So I must go on, with joy at the signs of deepening life among us, and distress at our losses, and amazement that Almighty God vouchsafes to employ me for anything."

Further on, speaking of Newman's approaching visit to Rome, he adds: "I have a faith that all will come right, wherever you are, though I see not how; and all, past and present, is to me a great mystery which I sigh over." He ends thus: "My head is half in a whirl, with all the thoughts of the past, in writing such a letter as this to you. God be with you ever."

A fortnight afterwards he fell dangerously ill at Tenby. From his sick bed he pencilled the following words to Newman: "You will pray earnestly that God will have mercy upon my body and soul, and spare a sinner, and give him true repentance."

Newman was deeply moved, and hastened to his friend's side, fearing that he might never see him again. Of the

interview between them nothing is known. Pusey made a quick recovery, but he was now more definitely separated from Newman than ever, and for seven years there was no further correspondence between them. Newman has told us that there was a lack of mobility in Pusey's nature, coupled with an absence of intellectual perplexity; a deep-rooted confidence in the position in which he deemed that Providence had placed him, and an incapacity for doubting what he had once recognized as the foundation of his spiritual life, which made it hopeless to expect that he should enter the Church, however much he seemed to approach to it. He found a simile in the children's game of searching for some hidden toy, remarking that Pusey had the peculiarity of never knowing when "it burnt," and, in his *Apologia*, he confesses that he never detected in his friend the slightest tendency to act as he himself had done.

III

The new converts were confronted with a difficult problem. What was to be their future? With their past they had entirely broken; family ties, social position were alike sacrificed, while those who had been in orders had lost their means of livelihood. Whither could they go to find a new home, a new position; in some cases the question was—where could they get their daily bread? Many of the unmarried converts looked forward to becoming in the true Church what they had once imagined they were in the Church of England; but without due preparation they could not be ordained, and there were obvious difficulties in the way of their passing through the normal training of young Seminarists.

These were matters of anxiety to Wiseman; and he appealed to his friends and showed them how necessary it was to help, at least temporarily, those who had lost everything for the love of truth.¹

The chosen few who were called to the priesthood Wiseman tried to keep under his own guidance. To Newman and his eight or nine companions, those who were known as the *Littlemoriars*, he offered a home in a building belonging to his college of Oscott, called Old Oscott, and soon afterwards christened Maryvale by its new inmates. Thither Newman carried the theological library of three thousand volumes which he had bought a few years before out of the profits of the sale of Tract XC. He did not, however, keep himself shut up in this retreat. Wiseman, who wished him to make acquaintance with his fellow-Catholics, and to be known by them, persuaded him to visit the chief centres of Catholic life in England, notably the colleges at Old Hall, Prior Park, Ushaw and Stonyhurst. This Newman willingly did. He was pleased with all he saw, and everyone was charmed with his kindness as well as by his piety and his thoroughly Catholic spirit. "You could not believe," wrote Wiseman, "how joyous Newman is now, and how much he is at home with us. . . . He will soon become acquainted with all the members of the clergy, and will be very popular with them." Soon afterwards, when the experience was more complete, Wiseman wrote: "Everywhere everybody is delighted with him, and he clearly wishes to throw himself entirely into the Catholic body, and become one of ourselves." Later yet, he added, concerning the life led

¹ See the letter to Canon Walker, of Scarborough, at the close of 1845 (*Life of Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 444).

at Maryvale: "You will be delighted with Maryvale. We have begun our theology in earnest there. The course will be full and deep. All Mr. Newman's friends are delighted with his cheerfulness and amiability, which seem to increase every day."

Wiseman well understood the importance of keeping together the little band of men which had gathered round Newman. He hesitated as to which of two projects he should propose to him—whether it should be the founding of an Oratory in England, after the model of that of St. Philip in Rome, or the establishment of a theological college. In either case, to put Newman beyond the reach of old Catholic prejudices, he deemed it necessary first of all to give him the *cachet* of Rome, and with this end in view, he asked Newman to repair to the Eternal City to complete his preparation for Holy Orders. With his habitual docility, Newman set out on his journey towards the end of September, 1846. With him went the dearest and most faithful of his young companions, Ambrose St. John. On his way through Paris he made the acquaintance of some of the leading Catholics, and took the opportunity of thanking them for their prayers for his conversion. He arrived in Rome on October 28, at the beginning of Pius IX.'s Pontificate. At the College of the Propaganda, where he lived, he led the life of the humblest students: an answer to those who threw doubts upon the disinterestedness of his conversion, and alleged that he had gone to Rome to receive the sacred purple. The usual period of training was shortened in his case, and in the spring of 1847 he was ordained priest.¹

¹ On the subject of Newman's priesthood some strange stories gained currency. It was reported that Newman had been ordained

While Newman was carrying on his studies, he was weighing in his mind the two projects which Wiseman had suggested to him—an oratory or a theological college. But he soon became aware that the teaching of theology by converts who had so lately been received would not find favour in Rome; while the idea of an oratory was, on the contrary, very well received. Besides, Newman had conceived a strong love for St. Philip Neri, and that saint's order seemed to him well-suited to the actual needs of England. On these matters he was in frequent correspondence with Wiseman, and he worked with him in carrying out his plans.

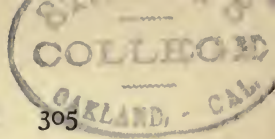
"I trust I may say you will never have cause to be sorry for having put confidence in me," he wrote, "or will ever find me other than most desirous to the best of my power to further the great Catholic objects, of which your lordship is in England the chief, or rather the only promoter."

And later on he wrote :

"I have all along said myself (as you may suppose), I can do nothing without Rome on my side. There is so much discord, so much jealousy in England, that I cannot get on without this support to carry me on. It is this which carries your lordship on. I see here that no one scarcely is thought to be doing anything in England but those who are connected with you."¹

a Roman Catholic priest in 1833 during his first visit to Rome, when, in company with Froude, he called upon Wiseman, and that he had been authorized to keep this ordination secret for twelve years, so as to be able to capture the faithful adherents of the Established Church with more certainty. This ridiculous tale, published in 1866 by one Collette, has also found a sort of echo in a recent book by a writer highly thought of in the evangelical world (*History of the Romeward Movement*, by Mr. Walsh, pp. 261, 262).

¹ *Life of Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 451-464.



In June, 1847, the Pope arranged that Newman should leave the Propaganda, and instal himself at the Santa Croce Convent, to prepare for the Oratorian life, along with those who wished to associate themselves with him, under the direction of a son of St. Philip Neri, Father Rossi. Here he was joined by a few other converts, among them one of his old Oxford friends, Dalgairns, who had just spent a year at Langres, where he had received Holy Orders. In the closing days of 1847 the training of the new Oratorians was considered complete, and Newman left Rome with his companions. He reached England, where Apostolic Letters praising his enterprise had already arrived, and founded at Birmingham the first house of the Oratory.

The new Congregation was immediately joined by some important recruits. On his conversion, which took place soon after Newman's own, Faber had brought with him into the Church several of his parishioners, who had been trained by him to lead a life of prayer and mortification. In December, 1845, they were in Birmingham, without resources, and there they formed themselves into a sort of community with Faber at their head. A stranger religious house never existed, consisting exclusively as it did of converts of yesterday who were still laymen and quite inexperienced in monastic life; but they possessed a wealth of enthusiasm and fervour, as well as the spirit of self-sacrifice and poverty. The Bishop and some broad-minded priests regarded them with favour, but they were distrusted by other members of the clergy. Between February and May, 1846, Faber was in France and Italy, where he imbibed the spirit of Catholic life, and on his return he strengthened his little community by the

encouragements he brought with him from Rome, and put it upon a more regular footing. The members, who were known by the name of "Brothers of the Will of God," or more commonly "Wilfridians," were divided into choir brothers, who were destined for the priesthood, and lay brothers.

In September, 1846, they quitted Birmingham to take possession of the large property known as Cotton Hall, which Lord Shrewsbury had generously given them. The six months between October, 1846, and April, 1847, witnessed the successive steps which Faber took towards the priesthood, from minor orders to ordination. Some of his companions followed him more slowly along the same path. All of them, whether priests or simple brothers, devoted themselves to evangelizing the neighbourhood, and after labouring for a few months they rejoiced to see a considerable number of the inhabitants united to the Church. It was at this juncture that Faber heard of Newman's return to England and of the founding of the Oratory, and he felt drawn to join himself and his community to the new Congregation. His offer was accepted, and he joyfully exchanged his position as Superior for that of a simple novice.

"Since my admission," he wrote on February 17, 1847, "I seem to have lost all attachment to everything but obedience. I could dance and sing all day, because I am so joyous."

Six months later he was appointed Master of Novices. The acquisition of Faber and his companions gave a new impulse to the Congregation, which in August, 1848, numbered forty members, of whom ten were priests. Postulants came in large numbers, the life of the com-

munity was spiritual in the highest sense, and the Apostolate was actively and successfully carried on. Thus Faber was able to write: "The Oratory is extremely flourishing."

There were, however, other converts of note besides those with Newman. Oakeley, who wished to become a secular priest, went immediately after his conversion to St. Edmund's College, which was then the leading seminary in England, to prepare for the priesthood. Ward, being a married man, was, of course, ineligible for the priesthood, but he fixed his abode on the very threshold of St. Edmund's College, and there he and his wife led an almost conventual life, attending all the services and enjoying to the full their liturgical beauty. Ward also became absorbed in the study of scholastic theology, and was full of ardour for the conversion of England. Perhaps he felt keenly the want of some work on which his active nature could be employed, and he may have missed the controversies in which he had engaged with such eagerness at Oxford. But, on the other hand, he was happy in the possession of the truth, and of that deep peace which led him a year later to use these words:

"The way in which the Catholic Church has assimilated us converts is by itself a proof of her divinity. Consider what a Church must be which could tame and keep in order two men like Ward and myself. Further proof is needless."

Other converts, after hesitating more or less long, became members of various religious communities. Lockhart joined the Rosminians; Coffin the Redemptorists; and Tickell, Purbrick, and Christie the Jesuits.

IV

While these events were taking place, a great change occurred in the position of Wiseman. In August, 1847, he succeeded Dr. Griffith as Pro-Vicar-Apostolic of the London District; and two years later, on the death of Dr. Walsh, he became Vicar-Apostolic. Thus he was the head of the Catholic Church in England, and he used his influence to re-awaken a zeal which had become somewhat sleepy. But here he met with some resistance. Among the old-fashioned clergy were some who were still under the influence of that timidity and passive inertia which centuries of persecution had engendered; besides this, they were more or less infected with that spirit of particularism and independence with regard to the Holy See which in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century had produced something analogous to Gallicanism in France. To men of this stamp the efforts of the new Vicar-Apostolic to bring new life into public worship, and to restore forgotten practices of piety, were subjects of alarm. They dreaded his Roman spirit, and reproached him with attempting to introduce Italian customs, which were alien to the English temper. Against this spirit Wiseman fought, and fought successfully. In this contest he called to his aid those religious communities which had for so long been unknown on the English side of the Channel. In two years he established in his diocese no fewer than ten religious houses, under whose influence Catholicism in England began to rise from the state of torpor and obscurity into which it had sunk.

In July, 1848, the opening of St. George's, Southwark,

the largest Catholic church built in London since the Reformation, testified in great measure to the progress that had been made. The brilliance of the ceremony, at which two hundred and forty priests and fourteen Bishops, foreign as well as English, were present, besides members of many religious orders, impressed even the Protestant imagination.

In this re-awakening of Catholic life the new converts brought valuable help to the Vicar-Apostolic. Oakeley, now a secular priest, began his zealous and fruitful apostolate, and in 1848 published his first volume of sermons. In the course of the same year Newman and Faber were called upon to preach a mission in London. Wiseman had wished that, as soon as he was settled in London, the Oratory should be transferred thither. Newman, however, considered it wiser to remain in Birmingham, though this decision did not long postpone the fulfilment of Wiseman's desire; for in 1850, when the number of Oratorians had increased, several of them, with Faber at their head, went to found the London house.

Though Newman had elected to remain in Birmingham, his influence was by no means confined to that town. His writings made that influence world-wide. In 1848 appeared *Loss and Gain*, which at once excited keen curiosity and interest. In this book a young Oxford man, brought up an Anglican, becomes a Catholic after long mental struggles, feeling the need of some authoritative guide in matters of faith amid the turmoil of contradictions, and yearning also for a religion which practised asceticism and penance. This book is no autobiography, and the author carefully disclaims the notion that it is founded on fact; he is none the less writing from his

own experience when he depicts with vividness and sometimes with fine satire the social features of Oxford, the ideas which leaven it, the type of men who are representative of those ideas, as well as the intellectual and spiritual crises which find their home in the University. All these, with a penetrating emotion, he made to live again. Many years were to pass before the author revealed to the world the fulness of his mental experiences, but even in this book he lets us see something of his doubts, his secret anguish, his gradual and painful groping towards the light, and the uprightness alike of his hesitations and his decisions. In this lie the charm and interest which the book inspired on its first appearance, and which it continues to inspire at the present day.

But great as Newman was as a writer, he exercised still more influence as a preacher. He believed himself to be best fitted for the pulpit, and nothing would have been more repugnant to him than to be regarded as a literary man. As a Catholic preacher he brought with him the renown he had gained in the pulpit of St. Mary's. Wherever he was announced to preach, whether it was in the Oratory or in the various churches to which he was invited, people flocked to hear him, and Protestants were no less impressed than Catholics. In the Lent of 1848, Benson, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, at that time a young clergyman, was present at one of these sermons. He was deeply moved. Writing to a friend shortly afterwards, he thus describes the effect which the sermon produced upon himself. "Newman," he writes, "is a man in whom the severe mortifications of the Middle Ages are again revived. Christ help him. He taught me wondrous lessons." And in a subsequent

letter, written to the same friend, who was alarmed at these expressions, Benson refers to the unwearying charm of that voice, so gentle and winning, and to the compassionate and tender thoughts to which it gave utterance. He "spoke," writes Benson, "with a sort of Angel eloquence. . . . Such a style of preaching I never heard before, never hope again to hear." And the future Primate loved to depict the emaciated and deeply lined countenance, with its expression so refined and at times so awe-inspiring, and the ardour which lighted up his face as he turned towards the Altar, and with an accent of which he alone was the master, pronounced the Sacred Name. The young clergyman only expressed the feelings of all who listened to Newman when he affirmed that "Surely if there be a man whom God has raised up in this generation with more than common powers to glorify His Name, this man is he."¹

The influence which Newman exercised through his sermons, whether Anglican or Catholic, was by no means confined to the particular churches in which he preached. In their printed form they had the power of moving innumerable souls. This was fully proved by the success of the first volume of Catholic sermons which he published in 1849, under the title *Discourses addressed to Mixed Congregations*. Jowett, the most advanced member of the Broad Church school, expressed his admiration of this volume in a letter to Arthur Stanley. "I think that Romanism was never so glorified before," he writes. In reading these sermons again, one finds those lofty and

¹ Benson, it must be added, was shocked to see Newman pronounce, with the same signs of veneration, the name of the Virgin (see *Life of Benson*, vol. i., pp. 59, 62-64).

penetrating passages, that mingled austerity and tenderness, that pathos and irony, which made him pre-eminent as an Anglican preacher; and added to all this there is the enthusiasm of the convert in possession of the fulness of light, with the confidence with which that light endows him—the certainty, after all the gropings and doubts of Anglicanism, that he is the mouthpiece of an infallible Church. There is no longer any of that uneasiness which betrayed itself in his Protestant sermons, that hesitation in insisting upon the truth of some proposition, for fear as to where it was leading him. His style had gained in ease, authority, and distinction. He threw himself with less restraint into emotions of piety, whether he dwelt upon the raptures of Divine love, the anguish of the Passion, or the glories of the Virgin Mary. He did not flatter his hearers. Sometimes, without reference to the questions in dispute between Catholics and Protestants, he depicted, with merciless keenness, the contrast between real Christianity and the so-called “respectability” of men of the world; neither did he shrink from warning them of impending damnation, and urged them in accents that were pathetic and terrible to think of their souls’ salvation. Sometimes, for the benefit of the Protestants who came in large numbers to hear him, he spoke of the pre-eminence of the Catholic Church, and contrasted it with the Anglican body, the members of which could possess no full faith or confidence, who possessed instead of belief opinions which it seemed lawful and natural to doubt, who had lost the idea of sanctity. He treated, with a disdainful severity, that “national religion,” which led to decency and order, propriety of conduct, justness of thought, domestic happiness, but did not show to the

multitude the road to Heaven. It was of the earth, and its teaching is of the earth. It was powerless to resist the world and the world's teachings; it would not live ten years if it was left to itself.

These were hard judgments for Protestants to hear, but they were forced from Newman by the strength of his convictions. He seemed at this period to entertain more hostile sentiments towards the Church he had left than he did immediately after his conversion or in later days. It was not that he took pleasure in attacking his former friends. If he could not always conceal the pain he felt at the way in which some of them had behaved at the time of his conversion, still his strongest feeling towards them was love for their souls, anxiety for their salvation, fear lest they should be deaf to the call of Divine Grace, and let God's hour pass. Witness the words he spoke to them and the arguments he used :

“ You look up, and you see, as it were, a great mountain to be scaled ; you say, how can I possibly find a path over these giant obstacles, which I find in the way of my becoming Catholic ? I do not comprehend this doctrine, and I am pained at that ; a third seems impossible ; I never can be familiar with one practice, I am afraid of another ; it is one maze and discomfort to me, and I am led to sink down in despair. Say not so, my dear brethren ; look up in hope, trust in Him who calls you forward. ‘ Who art thou, O great mountain, before Zorobabel ? but a plain.’ He will lead you forward step by step, as He has led forward many a one before you. He will make the crooked straight and the rough plain. He will turn the streams and dry up the rivers which lie in your path.”

Again, he placed before them the alternatives of the Catholic Church on the one hand and scepticism on the other :

“O my brethren, turn away from the Catholic Church, and to whom will you go? It is your only chance of peace and assurance in this turbulent, changing world. There is nothing between it and scepticism, when men exert their reason freely. Private creeds, fancy religions, may be showy and imposing to the many in their day; national religions may lie huge and lifeless, and cumber the ground for centuries, and distract the attention or confuse the judgment of the learned; but on the long-run it will be found that either the Catholic Religion is verily and indeed the coming in of the unseen world into this, or that there is nothing positive, nothing dogmatic, nothing real in any of our notions as to whence we come or whither we are going.”

As Newman well knew, there existed a notion among Protestants that a convert, when once the first fervour of his conversion was passed, found nothing in his new faith but disappointment and bitterness, which made him long heartily to retrace his steps. Against this notion Newman frequently warned his hearers. He never wearied of telling them of the full and firm confidence which the convert enjoyed instead of the uncertainty and doubt that had hitherto harassed him; of the joy which filled him when he entered the region of light and the home of peace.

Nor was Newman's influence exercised on the general public alone. His marvellous gift of reaching individual souls was in no degree diminished by his conversion. It was, indeed, made more potent. Anglicans in trouble about their faith turned instinctively to him. Reserved as he was in his dealings with the members of his former creed, he did not fail to urge upon those whom he saw moved by grace the duty of being in harmony with it. One such harassed and hesitating soul was Mr. Allies.

He was a man of brilliant intelligence and ardent nature, who had taken Anglican orders after going through a phase of scepticism, and towards 1838 or 1839 had become a convinced adherent of what he has himself called "Newmanism." At that period no doubt as to the truth of the Church of England had crossed his mind, and he described himself as "strongly anti-Roman." In the summer of 1843, during a journey in France, he saw Catholicism as it really is, and for the first time a question as to the claims of the Anglican Church dawned upon his mind. But this question seemed to Mr. Allies to be answered by the fact that Newman remained in that Church. This gave him a feeling of security, for in Newman was his *point d'appui*, as he used to say. Great therefore was his distress when, in May, 1845, a visit to Littlemore revealed to him what was passing in the mind of his guide. In that very summer a second journey on the Continent strengthened the feelings which he already had as to the weakness of the Anglican claims. And yet Newman's secession did not immediately decide him to take the same momentous step. He proposed to devote three full years to the thorough examination of "the terrible Roman controversy," and he resolved to take no step during that period however strong his convictions might become. This did not mean that his love and deference for Newman had grown weak. On the contrary, he approached Newman with the request that he would guide him in his study of the question, and draw up a rule of discipline—moral and intellectual—which he should observe during the three years' investigation. Then it was that Allies was struck by the change in Newman since his conversion. Hitherto, when he had consulted him, Newman had

always advised him to be cautious, and to postpone any decisive resolutions; now his tone was vastly different. While always recognizing that a line of conduct depended upon the state of mind of each individual, he no longer, as in former times, thought it right in every case to urge delay. The point was, as he said, to find out whether a man's conscience had been touched. If it had, then delay could no longer be lawful. This truth Newman continued to inculcate as the years went on. He remained in correspondence with Allies, but it was only to bring home to him the illogical nature of his position:

"Say that the Catholic Church *is not*—that it has broken up—this I understand. I don't understand saying that there is a Church, and one Church, and yet acting as if there were none or many. This is dreaming, surely. Excuse this freedom. I don't wish, as you may well suppose, to set up a controversy when we both have so much to do; but when I think of your position and that of others, I assure you it frightens me."

Later on Newman expresses the same feeling—the anguish he suffered at the thought of those who remained in this illogical position.

"But," he added, "of such as you, my dear Allies, I will ever augur better things, and hope against hope and believe the day will come when (excuse me) you will confess that you have been in a dream; and meanwhile I will not cease to say Mass for you, and all who stand where you stand, on the tenth day of every month."

In 1850 Mr. Allies was received into the Catholic Church. Among those Anglicans in perplexity and trouble with whom Newman remained in correspondence was a distinguished lawyer and a man of high intelligence and rare virtue, Mr. James Robert Hope, known later as Hope-

Scott. Of him Gladstone spoke as one of the four or five most remarkable men he had known.¹

When the tidings of Newman's conversion reached him, Hope, writing on October 20, 1845, remarked that the tidings were not unexpected, and that they forced him to a more resolute examination of his own opinions and sentiments, and that he counted for guidance upon Newman's book. At the same time he assured Newman that his friendship towards him was unalterable, except in so far as it was deeper than ever. In the following December he speaks of his own submission to the Roman Church as a possible event, but he feels that a great intellectual effort is necessary before such a decision is reached. He had then read Newman's book on the *Development of Christian Doctrine*; but while it introduced him to a region of ideas which were totally new, it threw him at the same time into a state of great perplexity.

On April 23, 1846, he writes, in replying to a letter from Newman:

"I join heartily in desiring *some* termination to my present doubts, but whether in the direction you would think right, or by a return to Anglicanism, is the question. I am astonished to find how resolute Keble is in maintaining his present position. Others, also, of more earnestness and better knowledge than myself are recoiling; and this troubles me, for I cannot but look around for authority."

Newman was most careful not to estrange his correspondent. He would not lose sight of him. On February 23, 1847, he writes to him as follows:

"We did not forget you, my dear Hope. Let me say it, 'Oh that God would give you the gift of faith!' Forgive

¹ *Memoirs of J. R. Hope-Scott*, vol. ii., p. 274.

me for this. I know you will. It is of no use my plaguing you with many words. I want you for the Church in England, and the Church for you. But I must do my own work in my own place, and leave everything else to that inscrutable Will which we can but adore."

The seed thus sown by Newman was not destined to remain sterile. In truth, there was no conversion at this period in which the influence, direct or indirect, of Newman could not be discerned, and the same thing was true to the end of his life. Nay, his work has survived him, and even to-day—through his writings, by the ideas that he spread abroad, by the memories that he left behind him, by the increasing prestige which attaches to his name—Newman remains the principal instrument of that mysterious and, in spite of everything, persistent evolution which leads so many souls from the Anglican to the Catholic faith.

CHAPTER VII

PUSEY AND MANNING

I. Distress of Newman's Anglican friends—Pusey becomes the leader of the party—His position—He publishes a letter explaining Newman's secession. II. Pusey suspected by the Anglican authorities—His correspondence with Bishop Wilberforce. III. Pusey preaches before the University on "Penance and Priestly Absolution"—Effect of this sermon. IV. Keble refuses to follow Newman—His reasons—He joins Pusey—Marriott supports them. V. Rogers and Church—J. B. Mozley's articles—Starting of the *Guardian*—The movement not confined to Oxford. VI. Manning—His early history—The growth of his views and his connection with the Movement—After Newman's conversion, he tries to retain people in Anglicanism—His influence—His prospects of a great career in the Church of England. VII. Efforts to intensify religious life in the Anglican body, and to introduce Catholic institutions and devotions—Pusey and the founding of Sisterhoods—Pusey, Keble, and Manning, and the subject of Confession—Pusey's first Confession—The austerity of his life—Similar progress in piety and virtue in the life of Manning and other Anglicans—How this progress should be regarded and explained from the Catholic point of view.

I

WHILST Newman and his companions set foot upon the Catholic bank alongside which they have arrived, what is happening to those of their friends left upon the Anglican side of the river? Does not their cause seem hopelessly ruined? Their adversaries, Evangelicals or Liberals, only speak of them with a disdainful compassion, as of people with no future. How, indeed, could they expect ever to rise again after the blow which so

many defections, that of their illustrious leader among them, had dealt to their party? Was not theirs now a disbanded army? In the past they had with difficulty contrived to refute the charge brought against them that their teachings tended towards Rome. What could they say now, when the event had proved that their enemies were right? Would not their own confidence in their system be shaken? For the *via media*, sought for with so much labour for ten years, had now been shown to be baseless and impossible. How could they maintain a position which their own Master had recognized as untenable? And with all this came the distress and grief of severed friendships, and the anguish felt for those who showed signs of wavering.

We may gather from words written years after these events by people who had suffered under them, how terrible was the memory of those days. Church, one of the loftiest of souls, speaking long afterwards described his "infinite distress," and enlarged upon the demoralization, discouragement, and sorrowful anxiety which filled the hearts of his friends. He spoke, too, of the sorry figure cut by the "poor Puseyites" (as men called them with mingled pity and contempt), both in the eyes of men of the world and of thinkers. It looked as though they had played and lost the game; as though they no longer counted for anything.¹

Church's testimony is confirmed by that of others in the same position.

¹ *The Oxford Movement*, pp. 395-406. To those of his readers who showed surprise at the tone of discouragement and the "languor of defeat" which they found in his narrative, Church replied that he could not speak otherwise, as that alone described accurately the existing state of men's minds.

"Newman," said Rogers, "had left those who had adhered to him headless, unorganized, suspected by others and suspecting each other; for nobody yet knew who would follow where he led. For a time a kind of perplexed hopelessness prevailed; who would trust us?"

Marriott, writing a few months after Newman's conversion, says: "One really does not see what to make of it, or where to attach anyone who wants to hold." To him the immediate future looked dark and bitter: "I can hardly see what hope we have of things in general, except in persecution. Yet one fears that for the many."

The event, however, proved that these anticipations were mistaken, though at the time they appeared so well founded. The movement to Catholicize the English Church, despite this temporary check, was not dead. It lived on when the man who created it had gone. It was then that Pusey's position became important. Up to that time his influence had been unfelt by the side of Newman's.¹

After Newman's departure, Pusey became the most prominent member of the party which henceforward came rightly to be styled "Puseyite," a name which some had already somewhat prematurely given to it. To him Gladstone turned, at the hour when Newman left them, for some announcement which might raise their fallen spirits. It was not that Pusey possessed all the qualities which make a leader, but some at least he had. Without the lofty genius, the broad ideas, the wide understanding

¹ James Anthony Froude, notwithstanding his anti-Catholic prejudices, described Pusey and his companions, when compared with Newman, as so many ciphers, of which Newman was the indicating figure (see "The Oxford Counter-Reformation" in *Short Studies on Great Subjects*).

of the human heart, the irresistible charm and magical influence, for all of which Newman was distinguished, he possessed a certain authority by virtue of his position, his learning, and, above all, his virtues.

While none had suffered more acutely than he at the loss of "dear Newman," as he never ceased to style his friend, none was less inclined to follow him. Though loving him as much as ever, the letters he received left him unchanged. He seemed incapable of harbouring a doubt concerning the Church of England, for which he had a filial love. He was at the same time under no illusion as to some of her defects; the anarchy of her doctrine grieved him, as also did her tolerance of heresy, the feebleness of her Bishops, the coldness and neglect of her worship. He acknowledged the superiority of the Church of Rome in religious authority, in her unity of doctrine and the depth of her spiritual system; but these convictions urged him to try to improve the Church of England rather than to leave her. In spite of everything he continued to believe that she was a part of the true Church, the legitimate offspring of that Church which God had planted in England for the salvation of souls. In these unhappy times she was temporarily separated from the other branches of the Church; it was an abnormal state of things, the sad penalty of sin, and it was one's duty to end it by means of increased fervour; but all this in his view did not prevent the Church of England from retaining an invisible unity. To those who were disturbed by this isolation he replied that their doubts must be dominated by the duty of remaining in the Church wherein God had placed them, and that that Church was the Channel through which His grace flowed upon their souls;

that to decide for themselves about the different Churches would be a rash use of private judgment. He insisted—and on this argument he fell back when others seemed to be failing him—upon the vitality of religious life in the Church of England, notwithstanding her blemishes, upon the good which she accomplished, on the grace which he personally was conscious of having received, and in this he discerned a visible proof that God was with her. When, moreover, he was confronted with some objection to which he could find no answer, or with some more than ordinarily obvious instance of the inconsistency of Anglicanism, he contented himself with replying that there must be some solution of the difficulty, and he waited patiently till he should find it. It was thus that at a time when everyone else was more or less disturbed, he alone remained calm. “Quite unshaken,” as Faber said in astonishment at his tranquillity.¹ His attitude at this time appeared weak in the case of certain unsettled and perplexed spirits, who felt that he did not understand them, as Newman, a short time before, had done; but it influenced those who asked for no more than to be re-assured by Pusey’s example. That example acted, in truth, upon many, and Church was not misled when he noted, as one of the most important facts of the moment, “that Pusey and Keble did not move.”

Pusey lost no time in addressing those who were waiting for his direction. On the very morrow of Newman’s conversion he set about the task of re-assuring and consoling his friends. His manifesto, published in the *English Churchman* of October 16, took the form of a

¹ Letter of October 21, 1845 (*Life and Letters of F. W. Faber*, p. 233).

letter to an imaginary correspondent. A curious feature of this document is that while its subject was exclusively the conversion of Newman, his name does not once occur from beginning to end. It would seem as though that name so dear to Pusey was now too sad a one to write. In one place where the turn of the sentence made the name imperative, the letter N. appears. In the same way he never mentions the Roman Catholics. He refers to them only as "those who have gained him."

The beginning of this document is a lamentation of the utmost pathos. The writer does not attempt to disguise the severity of the blow which his Church had sustained, but neither does his candour nor his affection allow him to blame the friend from whom the blow had come.

"My dear friend," he writes, "truly 'His way is in the sea, and His paths in the great waters, and His footsteps are not known.' At such moments it seems almost best to 'keep silence, yea even from good words.' It is an exceeding mystery that such confidence as he had once in our Church should have gone. Even amid our present sorrows it goes to the heart to look at that former self, and think how devotedly he worked for our Church; how he strove to build her up. It looks as if some good purpose for our Church had failed; that an instrument raised up for her had not been employed as God willed, and so is withdrawn. There is a jar somewhere. One cannot trust oneself to think whether his keen sensitiveness to ill was not fitted for these troubled times. What, to such dulled minds as my own, seemed as a matter of course, as something of necessity to be gone through and endured, was to his, as you know, 'like the piercings of a sword.' You know how it seemed to pierce through his whole self. But this is with God. Our business is with ourselves. The first pang came to me years ago, when I had no other fear, but heard that he was prayed for by name in so many churches and religious houses on the Continent. The

fear was suggested to me, 'If they pray so earnestly for this object, that he may be won to be an instrument of God's glory among them, while among us there is so much indifference, and in part dislike, may it not be that their prayers may be heard, that God will give them whom they pray for—we forfeit whom we desire not to retain?' And now must they not think that their prayers, which they have offered so long—at times I think night and day, or at the Holy Eucharist—have been heard? And may not we have forfeited him because there was, comparatively, so little love and prayer? And so now, then, in this critical state of our Church, the most perilous crisis through which it has ever passed, must not our first lesson be increase of prayer?"

Pusey is not content with this explanation, which must have sounded so strange to Protestant ears. He harks back to a thought which appears in letters written before Newman actually went. This was that, in passing from Anglicanism to the Catholic Church, Newman had followed a special, exceptional, and personal call which he had received from Above.

"They who have won him," Pusey goes on, "know his value. It may be a comfort to us that we do. In my deepest sorrow at the distant anticipation of our loss, I was told of the saying of one of their most eminent historians, who owned that they were entirely unequal to meet the evils with which they were beset, that nothing could meet them but some movement which should infuse new life into their Church, and that for this he looked to one man, and that man was N. I cannot say what a ray of comfort darted into my mind. It made me at once realize more, both that what I dreaded might be, and its end. With us, he was laid aside. . . . Our Church has not known how to employ him. And since this was so, it seemed as if a sharp sword were lying in its scabbard, or hung up in the sanctuary because there was no one to wield it. Here was one marked out as a great instrument of God, fitted through his whole training, of which,

through a friendship of twenty-two years, I have seen at least some glimpses, to carry out some great design for the restoration of the Church; and now after he had begun that work among ourselves in retirement—his work taken out of his hands, and not directly acting upon our Church. I do not mean, of course, that he felt this, or that it influenced him. I speak of it only as a fact. He is gone unconscious (as all great instruments of God are) what he himself is. He has gone as a simple act of duty with no view for himself, placing himself entirely in God's hands. And such are they whom God employs. He seems thus to me not so much gone from us, as transplanted into another part of the Vineyard, where the full energies of his powerful mind can be employed, which here they were not. And who knows what in the mysterious purposes of God's good Providence may be the effect of such a person among them? You too have felt that it is what is unholy on both sides which keeps us apart. It is not what is true in the Roman system against which the strong feeling of ordinary religious persons among us is directed, but against what is unholy in her practice. It is not anything in our Church which keeps them from acknowledging us, but heresy existing more or less within us. As each, by God's grace, grows in holiness, each Church will recognize, more and more, the presence of God's Holy Spirit in the other, and what now hinders the union of the Western Church will fall off. As the contest with unbelief increases, the Churches which have received and transmitted the substance of the Faith as deposited in our common Creeds must be on the same side with it. 'If one member suffer, the other members suffer with it,' and so in the increasing health of one, others too will benefit. It is not as we would have it, but God's will be done! He brings about His own ends as, in His sovereign wisdom, He sees to be best. One can see great ends to be brought about by this present sorrow; and the more so, because he, the chosen instrument of them, sees them not for himself. It is perhaps the greatest event which has happened since the Communion of the Churches has been interrupted, that such an one, so favoured in our Church, and the work of God's

Spirit as dwelling within her, should be transplanted to theirs. If anything could open their eyes to what is good in us, or soften in us any wrong prejudices against them, it would be the presence of such an one, nurtured and grown to such ripeness in our Church, and now removed to theirs. If we have by our misdeeds (personal or other) 'sold our brother,' God, we may trust, willeth thereby to 'preserve life.'"

Pusey, however, had no desire that this explanation, this kind of justification of Newman's act, should be taken as authorizing others to follow his example. Thus, while inviting his co-religionists to "humble themselves" for the sins which had drawn upon their Church this heavy chastisement, he sets himself to show them that there is no ground for despair. "The chastisements of God," he says, "are also mercies," and he declares that he has more hope for his Church than at any former time when there were more outward tokens of prosperity. This hope is based upon the signs of grace and the fruits of sanctity which had appeared in the Church, within the last ten years especially; the awakening of consciences too, the progress of devotion as well as the recognition of the "Power of the Keys," by which he means the re-establishment of Confession. In all this he sees a proof of God's presence with the Church of England—a proof that He still abides therein, notwithstanding the crises with which He chastises it.

The conclusion of this letter, affirming the writer's fidelity to the Church of England, did not lessen the effect of the first part, in which he expressed sentiments far from hostile to the Church of Rome. In vain had the recent conversions increased this hostility in others. Pusey refused to share it. He maintained the attitude of

neutrality, which he had shortly before (September 16, 1845) defined in these terms: "I can only take the positive ground of love for our own Church and our duties towards her; I can in no wise take the negative ground of hostility to Rome. I can only remain neutral." And he added that in going beyond this "he would fear lest he was fighting against God," and he would no longer be conscious of working usefully to retain perplexed souls. Truly it needed no ordinary strength of character to stand against the suspicions and accusations to which such an attitude exposed him. If some—as, for instance, Keble—congratulated him, many others—among them several of his old friends—attacked him. Thus Sewell, in the course of a sermon on "Secessions from the Catholic Church to the Roman Schism in England," made a severe allusion to those who seemed to regard it as a matter of indifference whether one was attached to one or other of the three Branches of the Tree of Life.

II

Pusey was soon made aware that he was the object of suspicion in the eyes of his superiors, and the fact became evident in the first communication which passed between him and the prelate who in October, 1845, was appointed to the See of Oxford. This Bishop was Samuel Wilberforce, son of the distinguished philanthropist and brother of Newman's devoted and intimate friends, Robert and Henry, as well as brother-in-law of Manning. Notwithstanding the Evangelical traditions of his family, he was from the first credited with High Church views. He had seemed to associate himself with the beginnings of the Tractarian Movement, and was in friendly relations with

its promoters. From the year 1838, however, a change had come, and he had grown less and less sympathetic in proportion to the tendency of the Tractarians towards Romanism, which he abhorred, while in the controversies occasioned by the publication of Tract XC he had unhesitatingly ranged himself against Newman and his friends.

He was more a man of action than of doctrine; more of a politician than a scholar. His ambition did not prevent his being heartily devoted to his ecclesiastical duties, while he was also animated by profound and sincere piety. To the world, no doubt, he seemed to be chiefly occupied in following his career, in which he made rapid progress, thanks to his brilliant abilities, to the high opinion in which he was held by his ecclesiastical superiors, and not least to the favour of the Court, where, by the desire of the Prince Consort, he had been appointed a Royal Chaplain.¹

Thus he found himself at the age of forty called to fill the important See of Oxford. He was from the first strongly opposed to Pusey. Writing on this subject to a friend, under date November 9, 1845, while admitting that Pusey was "a very saintly man," he adds: "He is, if I understand God's Word aright, most dark as to many parts of Christ's Gospel. . . . I see that he has greatly helped, and is helping, to make a party of semi-Romanizers in the Church." As to the cause of so excellent a man going astray, he finds it to be "a great want of humility, veiling itself from his eyes under the appearance of entire abasement. I see it in all his writings and doings. His

¹ For particulars of his early career, see his *Life*, by Canon Ashwell, vol. i.

last letter about Newman I think deeply painful, utterly sophistical and false."¹

Pusey, always ill-informed as to external events, knew nothing of these opinions. He imagined that Wilberforce, in spite of some divergences of view, sympathized with him and even retained the deference which in old days he had shown towards him.

As early as November 15, 1845, before the Bishop had taken possession of his See, Pusey wrote to him with freedom and in a tone of confidence and affection, dwelling upon the discretion and management which would be necessary in dealing with those spirits—then so numerous in Oxford—whom Newman's secession had perplexed. The reply, dated November 24, was very different from that which Pusey expected. With curttness and severity Wilberforce declared that he was "deeply pained" by Pusey's recent writings, and especially by the letter written to the *English Churchman*, and that he did not see how the language therein held as to the errors of the Church of Rome was to be reconciled with the doctrinal formularies of the English Reformed Church.

Pusey was surprised at the tone of this letter and at the doubt which it implied of his fidelity to the Church of England. On November 27 he replied at considerable length, in no way disavowing his teaching, but explaining it temperately and calmly:

"I did not," he writes, "mean to state anything definitely as to myself, but only to maintain, in the abstract, the tenability of a certain position, in which very many are, of not holding themselves obliged to renounce any doctrine, *formally* decreed by the Roman

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i., p. 311.

Church. . . . But in this I was not speaking of what is commonly meant by 'Popery,' which is a large practical system, going beyond their formularies, varying perhaps indefinitely in different minds. I meant simply 'the *letter* of what has been decreed by the Roman Church'; and this I have for years hoped might ultimately become the basis of union between us."

He applied this theory notably to the doctrine of an intermediate state between Heaven and Hell, and to that of the invocation of Saints. He believed that to give any other meaning to subscription to the Articles would imply a loss to the Church of England of many devout and valuable men, and he did not conceal the fact that he himself would be forced to resign his office. Moreover, this possible agreement of the Articles with Roman doctrine appeared to him Providential.

"I cannot but think," he adds, "that Rome and we are not irreconcilably at variance, but that, in the great impending contest with unbelief, we shall be on the same side, and in God's time, and in His way, one."

Such language was not likely to satisfy a man who held Rome in abhorrence, and Wilberforce's reply, dated December 5, was even stronger than his former letter. It amounted to a condemnation of the Oxford Movement. Not that he denied that its promoters had been actuated at first by lofty views; but he considered that they had afterwards wandered away from them.

"They were," he wrote, "led from God instead of to Him. With the appearance to themselves of peculiar self-abasement they lost their humility; with great outward asceticism they were ruled by an unmortified will; they formed a party; and thus being greatly predisposed to it, the perverted bias of one master-mind has sufficed

to draw them close to or absolutely into the Roman schism, with all its fearful doctrinal errors."

Then, addressing Pusey more directly, the Bishop adds:

"I should not speak as I have said that I would if I did not add that there appear to me to be in yourself too many traces of this evil; of a subtle and therefore most dangerous form of self-will; and a tendency to view yourself as one in, if not now the leader of, a party. This seems to me to lead you to judge the Church which you ought to obey; sometimes to blame, sometimes almost to patronize her."¹

A correspondence conducted in this tone could not be prolonged without leading to an open rupture, and Pusey made no reply. But he understood now what he had to expect from the member of the Episcopal Bench who was credited with having most sympathy with High Church ideas. Of the position of affairs he had another proof about the same time. Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, in a charge delivered in 1846, expressed himself in severe terms about those clergymen who published devotional books written by Roman Catholics, pretending to adapt them to the use of the Anglican Church. Pusey's name was not mentioned, but everyone knew that the words pointed to him; he in fact it was who some years before had made these "adaptations." The Bishop declared that such conduct was inconsistent with the engagements of a clergyman with his Church, and he added that it seemed to him "more to be censured and feared than open, honest, undisguised hostility."

III

The reader will remember that Pusey, in the year 1843, after a sermon by him on the Holy Eucharist, was

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i., pp. 299-309.

denounced to the Vice-Chancellor, and suspended for a space of two years from preaching within the jurisdiction of the University of Oxford. This suspension came to an end in June, 1845, and Pusey's turn for again mounting the pulpit came by natural rotation on February 1, 1846. Several of his friends, amongst them Manning, alarmed at the state of public feeling, urged him to choose some moral subject totally unconnected with current controversy. But Pusey thought otherwise, and though, on Keble's advice, he abandoned his first intention of preaching the condemned sermon over again, it was only to choose a subject no less significant: "The Power of the Keys and the plenary absolution of the penitent." This seemed to him the logical outcome of his teaching. He had, in 1835, in a Tract which had made some stir, formulated the doctrine of Baptism which had become impaired in the Church of England; then, considering the state of one who, after Baptism, had sinned, he had undertaken to show forth what he described as "the Comforts to the Penitent"; this was in his mind when he preached, in 1843, on the Eucharist, and now he was to deal with Penance and Priestly Absolution, in other words, with Confession—a subject entirely new to an Anglican audience and one which no Tract had so much as touched upon. Pusey knew that he was being watched. He prepared his sermon with the utmost care, and submitted the outline of it to his friends. His adversaries were on the look-out. One of the bitterest among them, Golightly, would not even restrain his hand until the sermon was preached. He wrote a letter which was immediately published, in which he recalled Pusey's recent writings, especially his explanation of Newman's

secession, and he called upon the Vice-Chancellor to compel Pusey, before allowing him to preach, to subscribe to the Twenty-second Article.¹ He even expressed a doubt as to whether Pusey was able, *bonâ fide et ex animo*, to subscribe to the Formularies of the Church. The Vice-Chancellor, though hostile enough at heart, did not see his way to adopt preventive measures. He preferred to let the sermon be delivered, feeling sure, no doubt, that if erroneous doctrines were uttered, the Statutes of the University would supply a remedy—a menace which he caused to be conveyed to Pusey, thus showing him to what extent he had become, in the Vice-Chancellor's eyes, an object of suspicion.²

Both sides were in a state of eager expectation : On February 1, the day of the sermon, the Cathedral was thronged ; not a corner was unoccupied. Pusey walked slowly towards the pulpit, with downcast eyes, his face pale and furrowed with sorrow and asceticism. But his features, firm as though carved out of marble, testified to a serenity which was in curious contrast with the anxiety and curiosity of those who beheld him. His sermon, uttered without the least sign of nervousness, lasted no less than an hour and a half. The congregation maintained a rapt attention to the very end. There was no rhetoric in the sermon. With his eyes fixed upon his manuscript, he read, without movement, without emphasis, without pause, in a voice monotonous but full and strong,

¹ This Article runs as follows : " The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God."

² *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 53-56.

reminding one of his listeners of "the deep-sounding vibrations of a bell." His ideas were developed with more learning than originality; above all there was nothing said for the sake of catching the attention or amusing his audience; but there was a great moral power and a tone of sincerity which gave rise to J. B. Mozley's expressive aphorism: "Pusey seemed to inhabit his sentences." The preacher had taken for his text the words of our Lord to the Apostles: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." From this he deduced the power of absolution possessed by the Church and her Ministers. He was careful to point out that he found traces of this power in the Formularies of his Church—not only in the general Absolution given to the whole congregation during the Communion Service, but also in the individual Absolution provided in the Prayer-book, for the sick, after the private Confession of their sins. It was this practice of Confession which he wished to re-establish, and he showed his Church what a loss she had suffered through her neglect of penance and absolution, and through the discontinuance of public and private discipline. In speaking thus, Pusey wounded Protestant prejudices even more deeply than by his sermon on the Real Presence. For a long time there had been no trace of the practice of Confession in the Church of England, and it had only been spoken of as an odious and depraved piece of Popery. In its issue of February 3, the *Times* made a violent attack upon the sermon, describing it as expressing the natural and appropriate conclusion of the man who had been condemned three years before; and finding in it the same tendency towards doctrines repudiated by the English Church, the same enigmatic

subtleties, the same self-sufficiency which was characteristic of priests, and the same tenacity in contending for sacerdotal rights. Willingly enough would the malcontents have appealed again to the Vice-Chancellor for vigorous action, but they were hampered by the Formularies of the Church under which the preacher had carefully sheltered himself. For in truth though, as a practice, Confession had disappeared from the religion of Anglicans, there was no denying that it was to be found in the Prayer-Book. In that volume there is an office called, "Order for the Visitation of the Sick," which provides that the minister shall exhort the sick person "to make a special Confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which Confession, the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it)." Then follows a Form of Absolution very much like that used in the Catholic Church. It is true that, on the other hand, one of the Thirty-nine Articles denies that our Lord instituted a Sacrament of Penance, and declares that what is now so called has "grown . . . of the corrupt following of the Apostles." But this is not the only contradiction to be found in the Formularies of this Church born of compromise, and the sentence just quoted does not prevent Confession being authorized by another text. Moreover, Pusey let it be known that if he were again attacked, he would not this time allow himself to be condemned unheard. He anticipated any expression of public opinion by immediately publishing his sermon with preface and notes. It became clear to his opponents that they were not in a position to act against him, and that the "relics of Popery" which the Prayer-Book still retained afforded

an effectual protection to the man whom they wished to strike. It was therefore regretfully resolved that no action could be taken, and the Heads of Houses agreed that deplorable as the sermon was, it offered no means of prosecution. In the eyes of Pusey's friends this was a moral victory. Their leader had thrown down the gauntlet and his enemies had not dared to pick it up. This success seemed to have cheered Pusey somewhat. He could scarcely flatter himself, however, on having, by his sermon, reduced his enemies to impotence. The hostility and distrust to which he had been exposed since Newman's conversion, not only continued but became more pronounced than ever. Some of the Heads of Houses feared to exchange a word with him in the street, lest they should compromise themselves, while not a day passed without its bringing him insulting letters, anonymous or signed. Some of those who professed to defend Anglicanism against him were angry at his not following his former friends into the Roman Church. What reason could he give for his delay? Was it not in itself a proof of his double-dealing? Even old High Church friends such as Hook, Churton and Palmer withdrew themselves more or less openly from him; those who maintained intercourse with him thought it necessary to defend their conduct, at least in certain quarters. With the young men in the University his relations, which had always been reserved, became now more than ever difficult, and undergraduates who were known to frequent Pusey's house might expect to be in the authorities' black books. At Christmas, 1846, an announcement in a country church that he was to preach was enough to make the congregation threaten to leave the church in

a body as soon as he should mount the pulpit. "We cannot," said they, "allow this wolf from the enemy's country to devour the sheep at his good pleasure." In one place where he had been preaching the following dialogue between two peasant women was overheard: "Who be that that preached?" asked the first. "Don't you know?" replied the other, "it is that Mr. *Pewdsey* who is such a friend to the Pope!"

Those even who still stood by him were uneasy as to what might happen next. They dreaded lest he might at last give ear to the familiar and beloved voices of those who were now inviting him into the Catholic Church.

"Like some lone column, the only one of a stately row which once adorned the portico of some great academy, but which in melancholy series, one by one, have sunk, undermined, or fallen prostrate, he still stands, though alone. There is a solemn but sad sense of solitude in the feeling with which you contemplate him; while at the same time there is in his very isolation something of insecurity, as though you feared the fate which levelled all the rest awaited him also, and you expected daily to hear that he too had disappeared."

IV

But Pusey's isolation was by no means complete. His friends, though not numerous, included men of the highest standing, and of these the most distinguished was John Keble. Like Pusey himself, Keble, whose nature was so gentle, had been heart-broken at Newman's departure. Some people even believed that doubts about Anglicanism had crossed his mind, and that he had asked himself whether he should not follow his friend. In 1841, when Newman was at the beginning of the end, he,

far more than Pusey, was the confidant of his friend's doubts and distress; and if he rejected the notion of passing over to Rome, unless, at least, "Rome" was greatly changed, he did admit that he might one day leave the Anglican Church on account of what he painfully recognized as its weakness, and, as he expressed it, its "fallibility." But through the influence of his wife, whom he loved tenderly, and still more through his increasing humility, which made him distrustful of himself, as of a sinner who was not worthy to judge of another, still less of his own Church, he came to regard doubts as a temptation of the evil one, and, as such, to reject them. Not even could the conversion of his beloved friend Newman alter his resolution, and the ties that held him back were just at that moment stronger than before. In the autumn of 1845 he seemed on the point of losing both his wife and his brother, who were lying dangerously ill, and the calmness and piety which animated these two souls on what he thought was the threshold of death, seemed to him a proof of God's presence in the Church of England.

In October, Keble, writing to another friend, says: "*Every day things are happening*, especially in our two sick-rooms, which make it more and more impossible for me to do as he (Newman) has done."

A few months later he published his *Lyra Innocentium*, in which he sings of the grace and sincerity of childhood. It would seem as if he took refuge in poetry to escape from the din of controversy. "This book," he writes, "has been a great strength for me in the anguish and desolation of the last two years." He sent a copy to Newman with a letter showing the love with which he still regarded

him, but none the less sorrowfully and firmly accepting his separation from his friend as final :

"You will kindly take it [the book] as a pledge of (I hope) unabated love and gratitude and constant remembrance ; though confidence, sad to say, cannot be what it was. *That* is a very bitter feeling, but it will do one good, if one can at all adequately perceive and feel that it is one's own fault. May I say God bless you, very dearest friend ?—being always—

"Your affectionate and grateful

"J. KEBLE."

Thus did Keble's attitude and language reassure those of his friends who had at one time feared to see him follow the example of Newman. J. B. Mozley writes, after paying him a visit at this juncture : "Keble seemed very firm as to the duty of remaining in the Church of England, and not cast down, though greatly wounded, by recent events."

Later on, Keble himself, writing to Pusey to contradict a rumour of his approaching secession, uses these words : "I scarcely think it can do much harm ; it is so utterly without ground or foundation ; however, I have authorized two persons to contradict it as publicly as they please."

Even when he had a slight desire to resign his living, or even to sever his connection with the Anglican Church, he had no intention of submitting to Rome. His notion was to become something analogous to a non-juror of the end of the seventeenth century.

Keble's separation from Newman brought him into nearer relations with Pusey. These two strove to support and console one another. Without Keble's advice Pusey would take no important step ; to him he looked for the strength and counsel which he could no longer draw from

him whom he ever called "dear N." On all questions of the day these two were in complete accord. Keble had been one of the very few who had congratulated Pusey on his *English Churchman* letter, written at the time of Newman's reception, and he thanked the writer for the comfort which it had brought him, recognizing, with him, that "neutrality towards Rome was their natural position." With him, too, he dreamed of reunion with the Roman Church, without, however, formulating the precise conditions, and he pleased himself by imagining that Newman's conversion might smooth the way to such a reunion. Feeling thus, it saddened him to observe the estrangement existing between the new converts and their Anglican friends, and he looked upon it as an agreement against individual conversions. "Everything indicates that such separate conversions, whatever else they may be, are not the way of peace and unity."

He therefore sought to dissuade people from becoming Catholics, without, however, making any attack upon the Church. Such is the tone of the preface to his volume of *Sermons Academical and Occasional*, which he published in 1847. Speaking to Anglicans who felt themselves drawn towards Rome, and doubtful whether they ought to remain in the Church of England, he does not profess to prove that that Church alone possesses all truth, and that Rome is in error; he limits himself to reminding his readers that the Church is divided, and that the claims of its various branches are, to say the least, matters of controversy. What, then, he asks, is the safest course for Anglicans who are perplexed? To remain, he replies, where God has placed them. By so doing they will practise many virtues—submission to the Divine Will; intel-

lectual humility in not venturing to determine such highly controversial questions by their private judgment; generosity in remaining in a religion less flattering to the imagination, being in this somewhat like those who are not ashamed of their humble parentage; reverence for the past, in refusing to decry the Saints of the Anglican Church, while remaining free to venerate all the Saints of the Roman communion; and lastly, charity, which will make them shrink from giving pain to some and causing others to fall into scepticism. Keble further maintains that the Church of England is a true branch of the Catholic Church, separated from Rome by differences rather of detail than of principle, and that these differences will probably diminish. Without denying that the English Church is open to the charge of lack of discipline, toleration of error, and a low standard of life, he merely concludes from this that she is, as it were, in a state of penance, pending an appeal to an Œcumenical Council. Such a line of argument was modest enough, tending as it did to prove to Anglicans not, indeed, that all was well with their Church, but that wisdom pointed to their being contented with what they had, while waiting the future with confidence. Yet the author seems to admit that certain souls may have a call to go, more powerful than the small reasons for remaining with which he supplies them.

While ready enough to come to Pusey's help, Keble had no ambition to occupy the position of leader. He was willing to remain in the background, and his life of retirement in a country parsonage removed him altogether from the centre of strife, while the disaster which had befallen his Church had not only thrown a deep sadness

over his soul, which up to that time had been filled with confidence and joy, but it had greatly increased his natural humility and his spirit of penance. He reproached himself with the losses of his Church, as though they were sent in punishment of his sins. What Newman had written to him seemed to him true, that he had allowed himself to enter into deep questions of religion without sufficient preparation; that he had gone forward in company with many others, or at their head, along a road which he had not explored, and that he was a blind man leading the blind.

Side by side with Pusey, too, was Charles Marriott. Him we have already seen as the devoted fellow-worker with Newman, following him with confidence, and borne up in the trials, contradictions and hostility which he encountered by the thought that he could lean on him; neither had he a suspicion that the road which so beloved and revered a leader was following could lead him away from the Anglican Church. Absorbed as he was in theological studies, he knew little of what was passing out of doors. For him, therefore, Newman's conversion was a blow both unexpected and terrible. It did not, however, shake his faith in the Church of England, and as his nature required a leader, he unreservedly transferred to Pusey the allegiance which had hitherto bound him to Newman.

"That dear, good Marriott," wrote one of his friends, Mr. Allies, was the most conscientious of men; but his first principle, his ἀρχή of existence, was that Pusey and Anglicanism must be the truth; his great fact, against which nothing could prevail, was—Pusey. To his chosen leader he brought the co-operation, at that time so

precious, of a whole-hearted devotion, firmness of counsel and untiring labour. He possessed none of those brilliant gifts which fit a man for the performance of great actions in public life, and his awkwardness and absence of mind might have moved men to ridicule if his stainless and upright life had not commanded respect. At the same time, through the departure of others, he found himself occupying nearly the foremost place, and he was spoken of at times as though he filled Newman's place by the side of Pusey and Keble in the Tractarian triumvirate; and in several publications the initials of the three men appeared on a footing of equality. Moreover, Marriott, if he lacked an impressive manner, exercised, by his learning and his simple frankness, a moral influence among young men who, at the same time, were amused by his eccentricities. This influence had been recognized in past years by Newman himself.¹

V

Among those who remained faithful to Tractarian ideas were some, chiefly friends and allies, rather than disciples and partisans of Pusey, who, while maintaining a respect for him, were yet somewhat reserved towards him. Such were the two men with whom Newman had been on terms of the greatest affection and intimacy—Rogers and Church. We have already seen how, in 1843, Rogers, alarmed at Newman's Roman tendencies, had withdrawn from him. Since then his profession had caused him to

¹ "Marriott," said Newman, "has more influence over young men than any other person in his position" (*Lives of Twelve Good Men*, Burgon, vol. i., p. 345).

settle in London, and his active and personal connection with the Movement was at an end.

Church, on the other hand, had continued to the end on affectionate terms with Newman. Everything seemed to point to the likelihood of his following his great leader: his piety, his generosity and uprightness in seeking after truth, his readiness of heart and mind to absorb Catholic beliefs, his profound conviction of the mutilations accomplished by the Reformers, and the void they had thus caused in the English Church. With all this, however, his position does not seem to have been shaken. Already in 1843 he had written to his mother, who was uneasy about his supposed Roman tendencies, that he did not think he was in any danger, and that he never felt a temptation to change.

The new converts were greatly disappointed at his attitude. "Poor, dear Church!" they would say, in a tone which they used for no one else, not even for Keble or Pusey. When Newman definitely quitted Littlemore and was passing a night or two in Oxford, Church was one of those who came to bid him farewell. "It was felt at the time on both sides to be a parting of more than ordinary significance," says the daughter of Dean Church, his worthy biographer.

From that day the relations between Newman and Church were entirely severed. They were not to be renewed until fifteen years later.

In his admirable history of the Oxford Movement, Church shows us the reasons which actuated him. These reasons, empiric rather than theological, founded rather on facts than on ideas, on sentiments more than on principles, are in all probability the same with which

many another managed to soothe his troubled conscience. Church did not claim to have discovered any solid foothold for the *Via Media* of the Tractarian school; but, on the other hand, he repudiated all return to the old-fashioned, obsolete, ignorant, coarse and un-Christian method of controversy against Rome; but though fully recognizing all that was excellent in Rome, and while not shutting his eyes to the inconsistencies and contradictions of the Church of England, he saw in that Church a living historical reality to which he felt himself bound by a sentiment analogous to patriotism. His impression was that Newman had dealt too severely with her.

Though he remained faithful to his Church and to Tractarian ideas, Church had no ambition to play an active part in the Movement. Under sorrows which pierced him to the heart, and a sense that he was suspected, he felt that his best plan was to "remain quiet" and "speak little." He lived, therefore, in retirement, absorbed in his studies; and if he published a few articles, they dealt with matters of history and literature, and were quite unconnected with the great controversies engendered by recent events. Neither did he so much as refer to these in his private correspondence, and he even wished to turn his back upon Oxford and devote himself, as a few years later he actually did, to the duties of a country living.

The great crisis which led a man of Church's attainments to retire into the background, had the effect of raising to the front rank a man who, up to that time, had been more or less unknown. This was James Mozley, Fellow of Magdalen since 1840, a disciple of Newman. He was also connected with Newman through the

marriage of his brother to Newman's sister.¹ Though, in 1845, he had reached the age of thirty-three, he had not yet shown the talent which afterwards led an observer to remark, when speaking to Church, that, with the exception of Newman himself, Oxford contained no writer so powerful and impressive as he. Newman's secession affected him in a way almost peculiar to himself. Unlike the majority of his friends he was neither cast down nor thrown into perplexity. Grieved as he was, he nevertheless declared that the blow, now that it had fallen, was more tolerable than the agony of suspense, and he was able to look forward to the future with a calmness which many of those around him were far from possessing.²

To him was entrusted the task of carrying on the *Christian Remembrancer* in the altered conditions produced by Newman's departure.³ He undertook the work, and performed it with a firmness of hand such as some of his friends could not have shown. In a letter on the subject he explains his future attitude and his change of tone towards Newman, and what that change implies. "I feel strongly," he adds, "that in remaining in the Church as I do, I remain not merely to take her side lazily or to be irresolute in her service, but to support her." Was this meant as a criticism of the explanations with which Pusey had tried to reconcile the reverence which he could not help retaining towards Newman with fidelity to the Church of England? Mozley, on the other hand, points out clearly the breach between himself and Newman.

¹ James Mozley in later life held various benefices, and in 1871 was appointed Regius Professor of Theology in the University of Oxford.

² *Letters of J. B. Mozley*, p. 170.

³ *Christian Remembrancer* of January, 1846.

To Mozley, also, was due in great measure the foundation at this juncture of a paper which was destined to hold an important place among the religious periodicals of England—viz., the *Guardian*. As early as 1844 or 1845 the question was mooted in Tractarian circles of starting a weekly paper in addition to the quarterly magazine which was then their sole organ, and this scheme seemed the more urgent by reason of the loss which the party had sustained in its leader. Negotiations were carried on by certain Oxford graduates who were formerly Newman's friends, among them James Mozley, two lawyers, Frederick Rogers and Thomas Haddan, another layman, afterwards head of an important library, Montague Bernard, and two clergymen, Church, of whom we have already spoken, and Arthur Haddan, Tutor of Trinity, and at one time Newman's curate. Their chief object was to rally their obviously disorganized followers, or at least to hide the confusion in their ranks. It was understood that the new paper was to uphold Tractarian ideas, but to do so with a touch of independence, and not to own allegiance to any party leader. Pusey and Keble stood aloof. In a very short time the paper appeared. Undeterred by their scanty means and their want of experience, the promoters, on January 21, 1846, launched their first number. The new venture was beset with difficulties, and the public supported it so little that there was a question of abandoning it. But it was persevered in, and success came at length.¹ This was due in great measure to Mozley, in whose hands were left the articles dealing with the controversies of the day. Those by Church also, on literary subjects, were much appreciated. The paper, too, was

¹ *Letters of J. B. Mozley*, p. 178.

characterized by a sobriety and a loftiness of view, as well as by a spirit of justice and moderation, which greatly added to its authority.

The *Guardian*, though founded by Oxford men, had its office in London. Many members of its staff also lived in the capital, and their writings were addressed not to the University, but to the country at large. This marked the change which had come over the Movement.

Hitherto it had been centred in Oxford. By mastering the University citadel, and occupying it with the best of Oxford scholarship, they had meant to spread their influence over the rest of the nation. Newman himself had described a University as the natural centre of intellectual movements. But here was Oxford, as a result of the recent crisis, torn away from that party which had sought to become its master. Still, the Movement was not stopped; it was merely displaced. Instead of being concentrated, it was dispersed. In London, nay, throughout the whole of England, in distant parsonages remote from one another, it was now to have its centres of influence. Names hitherto unknown were to become celebrated, among the beneficed clergy especially, while among the recognized champions of the cause several were leaving Oxford in vexation and disgust to take up ecclesiastical duties outside the University. Keble himself had for years withdrawn from Oxford, and had only kept up intercourse from a distance with the University of which he had been one of the ornaments. Recent events had still further estranged and alienated him. Pusey, no doubt, once one of the foremost leaders of the Movement, retained his professorship at Oxford, and dwelt still in the ancient cloisters of Christ Church, where he was to spend

the remainder of his life. But his influence over younger men, whom indeed he rarely saw, was not to be compared with that which he exercised through his writings, his learning, and his virtues over the outside world of ecclesiastical life.

In thus quitting Oxford, the Movement underwent a change which was something more than geographical. It began to assume a new character. It became, little by little, less academic and more parochial, less learned and more practical, and anxious above all to transform public worship and piety. And this curious evolution was destined to pass through various phases, until it reached its final stage in Ritualism.

VI

One of the results of the change which had come over the Movement was the influence exercised by a man whom up to now we have only had occasion to mention casually, but whose name will henceforth occur very frequently in this history—Henry Edward Manning. Essentially an Oxford man, he had nevertheless quitted the University at an early age, and had risen rapidly in the Anglican Church. His temperament was fitted more for action and government than for thought and study. He was more a pastor than a doctor, more of a politician than a man of purely intellectual mind, and given rather to influence and lead other men than to write treatises upon abstract propositions.

Born in 1807, six years after Newman, he resembled that great man in being the son of a banker in the City of London. On leaving Harrow, he entered Balliol College in the year 1827. His mind was even then made up to

excel. *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus* was his motto. The prospect of an ecclesiastical career to which his family, for motives purely secular, had destined him, woke in him nothing but feelings of repugnance. His home-training, indeed, had instilled an attention to religion and to a well-regulated life, but he took little interest in the theological questions which were current at that time. His whole soul was set upon a political career, in which he pictured himself filling a foremost place as a debater and a statesman; and with this end in view he threw himself with ardour into the debates at the Union. Here his successes were not such as to attract much attention, and so little did his friends foresee any brilliant future for the young man that they were actually surprised when, in 1830, he took a "First."

It was about this time that his ideas began to undergo a change. When suffering from disappointments of various kinds he fell under the influence of a friend—Miss Bevan—a lady of strong Evangelical views, who awoke in his mind an inclination towards a life of piety. He took to reading works on theology, and to adopting pious practices.

Shortly afterwards, early in 1831, his father's financial affairs, which had been for some time in a critical state, became hopelessly involved, and to Manning's intense disappointment all idea of political life had to be abandoned. Even then he could not reconcile himself to an ecclesiastical career, and he willingly accepted a subordinate post in the Colonial Office, of which, however, he soon grew weary. A disappointment in a love affair added to his chagrin, and to use his own words, he became "splenetic, sick, savage, sour, rabid, indolent, useless, and ill at ease," and wanted to be anywhere but where he

was, do anything but what he was doing ; in a word, to be anything but what he was.

But this time of trial was most salutary, for it led his thoughts to higher things. The seed which his friend Miss Bevan had planted began to bear fruit in his soul. Her oft-repeated words came home to him now, that instead of earthly hopes which escaped him, there were heavenly hopes which remained.

These new thoughts led him to view the ecclesiastical state from which he had hitherto shrunk with different eyes, and after a short preparation he received ordination, on December 23, 1832.

Whatever people may say, it was no mere human ambition which led Manning, in default of something better, to devote himself to the life of a parish clergyman.

In intimate and private letters, of which none can question the sincerity, he declares that he had not even the least spark of ecclesiastical ambition, and that, on the contrary, he felt an abiding "repulsion" from the clergyman who was worldly, pedantic, without spiritual life, living at ease, and that the mere sight of a dignitary with his apron and gaiters disgusted him and made him beside himself.

"My one thought was to obey God's will, to save my soul and the souls of others. . . . Nobody ever sought ordination with less attraction to anything but God ; His word, so far as I knew it, and souls. . . . It was as purely a call from God as all that he has given me since. It was a call *ad veritatem et ad seipsum*."¹

¹ *Life of Manning*, by Purcell, vol. i., pp. 69, 93-97. Purcell is among those who insinuate that Manning acted through ambition. But his book must be read with caution. Badly written, it is full of curious facts and documents which are of undoubted interest, but

In January, 1833, immediately after his ordination, Manning was made curate of Lavington, of which place the Rev. John Sargent, one of the best known of the Evangelical clergy, was both Rector and Squire. As early as the following May Mr. Sargent died after an attack of influenza, and the young curate, who had already endeared himself to the Rector, was appointed to fill his place. At the same time he became engaged to one of Mr. Sargent's daughters. These four young ladies were all much sought after. The eldest had married, in 1829, Samuel Wilberforce, the future Bishop. Another, in 1834, married his youngest brother, Henry, while the fourth became the wife of George Ryder. These last two, as well as their husbands, afterwards became Catholics.

Manning at this time had no very clearly-defined opinions on the theological problems of the day. Of the ideas which were to come into force in the Tractarian Movement, he had not the least suspicion.

His tendencies, under the influence of Miss Bevan and the Sargents, appeared to be Evangelical, and in some general ways he was regarded as belonging to that party. He was occupied, not so much with doctrine as with

the reader should carefully verify the conclusions which Purcell draws from them before accepting them as true. No one quarrels with him for putting down everything, the weakness as well as the strength, of Manning's character, instead of producing a mere conventional panegyric; but we may justly reproach him with judging the conduct of Manning by a standard of his own—that is, by a narrow and paltry measure—a method peculiarly unfitted to estimate one who had faults and passions indeed, but one to whom any littleness was unknown. I am glad to take this opportunity of bringing to the reader's notice and in recommending to his study the *Vie du Cardinal Manning*, by the Abbé Hemmer. The author has made full use of Purcell's book, but in so doing he has corrected its errors.

practice—with cultivating piety and morality among his parishioners, comforting them in sorrow and helping them in distress. This left him but little leisure for controversy. He had at this time everything to make him happy. He was in full vigour of early manhood, and gifted with a presence of peculiar grace and distinction. He held a valuable living. He was married to one whom he dearly loved, and who graced his home. He could afford himself some luxuries which custom allowed to a clergyman; he understood how to choose a good horse, and he could ride it well. Thus, while carrying out his parochial duties with exactitude, he was able at the same time to lead a pleasant and comfortable life. Perhaps, like many another clergyman in the Church of England, his easy life enervated him. God, Who intended him for other purposes, drew him from that life by a terrible wrench. On July 24, 1837, after a married life of unclouded peace during four years, his wife was taken from him. With a reserve which was an essential part of his character, he hid from everyone the depth of his grief.¹ But though he spoke not of what he suffered, his silent grief re-awakened, for years afterwards, at each anniversary of his loss. In his sorrow he found relief in devoting himself more completely and generously to the work of a parish clergyman.

About this time Manning's religious opinions underwent a change. On June 13, 1838, at the first visitation of his new Bishop, he preached a sermon in Chichester Cathedral,

¹ Except indeed to his nearest and dearest. Some of his most intimate letters, which will be found in the *Life* by the Rev. W. H. Kent, show how real was the grief that he felt and how, years after her death, he clung to the memory of his wife.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

shortly afterwards published with notes, entitled, "The Rule of Faith." In this sermon he maintained on fundamental points Tractarian doctrine. What added to its importance were the bitter onslaughts made upon it in newspapers and at meetings by the Evangelicals, who bewailed the falling away of the Rector of Lavington, while one of the Bishops (Chester) published a diatribe against him. This change in Manning's views was not so sudden as it seemed to the public. In 1836 he had become acquainted with the early numbers of the *Tracts for the Times*, through the agency of Wood, a former Evangelical who had become a follower of Newman. Manning found himself in agreement with the author, and in this way he began to realize the importance of certain questions which had never so much as occurred to him before. The action of his own mind, moreover, had led him to doubt the doctrine which founded all faith upon the Bible alone, and he realized the necessity of a tradition for interpreting it. When once his feet were on that path he began little by little to approach to the ideas of the Tractarian school. A correspondence was opened with Newman which became day by day more friendly, and he offered to collaborate in several publications of the Oxford school. On certain points, however, he held views which differed from those of his new friends, for he still felt a reverence for the Reformers of the sixteenth century and a repugnance towards the Roman Church. He spent part of the winter of 1838 in Rome with Mr. Gladstone. Here he observed the Catholic services with curiosity, and paid a visit to Dr. Wiseman; but he returned to England with his faith in Anglicanism and his anti-Catholic prejudices confirmed, and he lost no oppor-

tunity of urging Newman and Pusey to give new proofs of their opposition to Rome.¹ He and Gladstone were pretty nearly in agreement at this time, and there was a close friendship between them. Like Gladstone, Manning, while partly agreeing with the Tractarians, took care not to be mixed up with them. "I look upon you as an outside witness," said Newman to him.²

Unlike the leaders of the Movement, Manning did not live in Oxford. His visits there were very few, and he was consequently a stranger to the majority of young men who surrounded Newman. He had therefore no personal influence in the University. On the other hand, he began to have weight among the pastoral clergy. They appreciated his zeal, his administrative ability, his tact and courtesy in dealing with men. His Bishop formed an equally high opinion of him; nor did he lose this advantage in 1840 on the Bishop's death, though the new occupant of the See was a Low Churchman and bitterly opposed to the Tractarians. Coming as he did from Oxford, he was well aware of the communications which had passed between the Tractarians and Manning. It was therefore natural to expect that he would not be friendly with the Rector of Lavington. But to such a degree had Manning gained the esteem and confidence of all the leading men in the diocese, including Archdeacon Hare, a pronounced Evangelical, that the new Bishop yielded to the general desire of his clergy, and, notwithstanding his own prejudices, appointed him, in December, 1840, Archdeacon of Chichester, a post of importance which made him one of the two lieutenants of the Bishop. He was at that time thirty-three years of age. His sphere of action was

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 232.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 688.

thus widened, and without having to quit his parish he became a part of the government of the diocese, with the right of taking part in all questions of general interest to the Church, and in those matters of ecclesiastical polity for which his abilities so admirably fitted him.

But tactful as the new Archdeacon always was, he could not help feeling some embarrassment when he had to deal with his Oxford friends and his Low Church Bishop. Matters became still more critical when, in January, 1841, the famous *Tract* 90 was published. Manning disapproved of this Tract, and he disapproved still more of the inferences which Ward and his friends professed to draw from it. His duty, as it seemed to him, was to resist these tendencies, and in his Charges he made it a special point to glorify the Reformation, which he called "a work of the purifying Hand of God," and to condemn the Church of Rome. This, it is true, did not prevent his continuing to affirm loudly some of the doctrines of "Anglo-Catholicism," as, for example, in 1842, in his sermon, which Gladstone greatly admired, on the "Unity of the Church," in which he vindicated the Apostolic Succession and the Sacramental Power in the Church of England, and in his strenuous opposition to the setting up, in conjunction with Prussia, of a Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem. It needed no more than this to make the organs of Evangelicalism regard him as one with the men of the Movement, and the *Record*, which watched his words, lost no opportunity of denouncing him as infected with Puseyism. Whether to clear himself from a charge which he may have felt to be injurious to his authority, or perhaps, for no reasons of a personal

nature, to raise High Church doctrines above any dangerous compromises, he decided, in 1843, to make the striking manifestation which has been already referred to. He accepted an invitation to preach the 5th of November sermon at Oxford, in the very pulpit from which Newman had retired on his withdrawal to Littlemore, and he seized the opportunity of making a virulent attack on the Church of Rome. Newman and his friends did not conceal the pain which this sermon caused them. Still, the coldness which it engendered was of no long duration. Newman was himself too much perplexed to treat anyone else with severity; the intercourse between himself and Manning was soon renewed, and if it was less frequent, it was as affectionate as before.

In the two years that followed Manning beheld the development of the crisis. He was near enough to the Tractarians to be witness, and at times to be made the confidant of the breaking up of their faith in Anglicanism, while, at the same time, he was so far separated from them as to be in no degree infected by it. In sadness of heart, grieving for the losses which he saw impending over his Church, he himself became only the more faithful to it. In February, 1845, Ward was condemned. Manning, while deploring the publication of Ward's book, gave his vote against the condemnation. When it was carried he turned to Gladstone, and in a voice loud enough to be heard by those who sat near, said: "*ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων*" ("This is the beginning of travails"). And when there was a question of taking measures against Newman, he wrote a letter of sympathy which touched the heart of the hermit of Littlemore. Meanwhile, he set himself to calm and strengthen those whose minds were troubled,

and to soothe their doubts by showing them the "historic rights" of the English Church. His Charge of July, 1845, consisted of a panegyric of that Church, and a description of the weaknesses of the Church of Rome, and he retorted upon Pusey, who reproached him with his severity against Rome, by accusing him of a contrary attitude.

In October, 1845, Newman wrote to Manning telling him of his conversion. Manning returned an affectionate reply, but he made no concealment of his opinion that Newman's act was a sin and, as he also called it, "a fall."¹

To an intimate friend he declared that nothing could shake his faith as to the presence of Christ in the English Church and in her sacraments. He felt incapable of doubting it. During three centuries saints had ripened for Heaven around her altars, and he could not doubt that he was safe within her borders.²

Not, indeed, that Manning underrated the gravity of the blow which the Church of England had received. The sight of the secessions, which were growing in number, made him tremble.

He had a fear, as he said one day to Gladstone, which was almost a conviction, that the Church of England might be broken in pieces.

But in all this Manning saw only an overmastering reason for bearing witness to the Church of England, and for using his influence to keep others from leaving it. No sooner had Newman's *Essay on the Development of*

¹ "If I knew what words would express my heartfelt love of you, and keep my own conscience pure, I would use them."

² *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 504.

Christian Doctrine appeared than he undertook to write a reply. Many Anglicans waited impatiently for it. But the task was beyond his powers and he abandoned it.¹ Besides, he did not believe in the power of theoretical controversy to quiet harassed consciences. He chose rather to awaken a filial love for their Church; he proclaimed his own faith in it, he declared it to be in possession of a purity of doctrine and practice which were lacking to those Western Churches to which some impatient souls had gone to seek what they could not find there. He did not, however, pretend that his Church was free from a blemish; it was that it had been reduced to a state of dependence by the usurpations of the civil power. Therefore did he call upon his fellow-Anglicans to strive for the emancipation of their Church. A campaign such as that was in his view not only excellent in itself, but it was also a useful corrective for the doubts to which controversy had given birth. And all this he laid down with a zeal, an energy, and an authoritative assurance which instilled confidence into many a troubled heart. Day by day the number of those who sought strength and consolation from Manning increased; to him Keble, too, appealed for advice as to the means of preventing an impending secession in his parish.² Up to that time no one had more contributed towards keeping back those whom Newman's example was drawing towards Rome. Doubtless he was not always successful, as was shown by the conversions which occurred to his profound sorrow among his intimate friends and in his own family. These separations were in his eyes more cruel than those caused

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 504.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 321.

by death, and in his anguish he asked himself in vain what God's purpose could be in permitting them.

Newman's departure brought Manning nearer to Pusey. Pusey consulted him freely on all important measures, but Manning, without declining to be intimate, was less inclined than in former days to be identified with the men of the Movement. Indeed, he emphasized his separation from them. Newman's conversion threw him back, he afterwards declared, when recalling the memory of these days. In November, 1845, he noted in his private journal that all co-operation with the Oxford men was over for him. Henceforward, he added, he should, with God's help, strive to act alone, as he had hitherto done. His duty was to live and die in the service of the Church in his own sphere of activity. In his view Pusey did not always take the right tone. He considered him too gentle towards Rome and too heedless of wounding Protestant bigotry, as, for example, when he chose the subject of Confession for his University sermon; and he refused to collaborate with Pusey in his work on the Scriptures, believing that such a partnership would be compromising. While admitting the Catholic doctrines which the Tractarian party had tried to instil into the Church of England, he considered it imprudent to irritate people's prejudices, and harass the authorities by too openly flaunting these doctrines in their faces. Above all, he desired to restore unity and concord in the Church, and to act the part of a peacemaker. A zeal so earnest and at the same time so conciliatory could not fail to increase Manning's reputation. People predicted that he would fill the highest posts in the Church of England. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, speaking in 1846, declared that the three men

of whom the country had most to expect were Manning in the Church, Gladstone in the State, and Hope in the Law, and he added that no power on earth could prevent Manning becoming a Bishop. In so saying the Bishop expressed the universal sentiment. Though still young, the Archdeacon possessed an indefinable quality in his appearance and bearing which commanded respect. Long afterwards Father Lockhart spoke of the impression made upon him by the sight of Manning sitting, in his Archdeacon's stall, in his white surplice, with his fine head already bald, and his dignified expression. It was, he said, like a revelation of the supernatural in man, and he was led to compare the figure of Manning with those of the Bishops of the Catholic Age which adorned the windows of the Cathedral.

Nor was Manning's reputation confined to ecclesiastical circles. His duties brought him into touch with the secular world, and more particularly with statesmen, and these at once recognized him as a master character. During the long visits which he paid to London in the winter, he was to be met with in one of the best clubs and in distinguished society, and he was presented at Court. The austere clergyman was seen to be also an accomplished gentleman, who knew how to make himself agreeable to men of all opinions. His brilliant and delightful conversation, coupled with an inexhaustible flow of amusing anecdotes, made him a welcome guest everywhere. In all this his one ruling motive was to carry out his plans for the service of the Church. But he was not blind to the danger he was in of drifting into lower and less disinterested views, and in the strict self-examination which he made, he does not pretend that he altogether

escaped the danger. In his journal between 1844 and 1847 he speaks of "Declension—three and a half years—secularity, vanity, and anger." In his daily entries, too, we find more than one acknowledgment of the pleasure which he took in thus frequenting the world of society, and of the dreams of greatness which invaded his mind at such times. We must, however, be careful lest we exaggerate the importance of these self-reproaches in the case of one who examined his motives with such severity. The temptation may have come, but Manning did not fail to combat it, as is proved by a significant fact. At the end of the year 1845 Samuel Wilberforce was made Bishop of Oxford, thereby vacating the office which he had held of Sub-Almoner to the Queen. This post was known to open the door to honour and to the episcopal bench. It was offered to Manning. To the astonishment of everyone he refused it. We now know his reason, but at the time he revealed it only to his private journal and to his most intimate friend, Robert Wilberforce. It was the fear of worldliness, the wish to mortify and humble himself. "I owe to myself, and to my Master, at least one denial, and I have never denied myself. . . . I have *prayed* against pride, vanity, envy, jealousy, rivalry, and ambition, but I have done nothing to attain humility."¹

A man who could hold such language when communing with himself was surely far from becoming a man of merely vulgar ambition.

VII

The men who persevered in the task which Newman had abandoned, of Catholicizing the Anglican Church

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 240, 241, 277-283, 505, 630, 631.

while it remained separated from Rome could be under no delusion as to the frail and illogical nature of this *via media* in respect of its doctrinal foundation. Thus we have seen how nearly all of them when pressed too hard on this point left theoretical controversy aside, and tried to show forth the fact that the grace of God was living and present in their Church. After all, the best means, in their view, of retaining in their Church those souls who were tempted to leave it was to assure them that it offered them the spiritual help and consolation which they were inclined to seek elsewhere. A mere assurance, however, was not enough. It was necessary to show concrete instances of its truth. With this end in view Pusey and Manning, to mention the two most prominent men, applied themselves energetically to the task of raising the Church of England from its state of lethargy and dryness, of putting new life into private devotion and public worship, and of maintaining a standard of religious life which should compare less unfavourably with that of the rival Communion. And in all this they had merely to complete a transformation which the Tractarians had begun to carry out from the very earliest days of the Movement. Only, on the morrow of so many conversions, it behoved them to be more than ever careful not to be mixed up with the Church of Rome. Still, it was this very Church which, in bringing about the desired changes, they were always led to copy. In her school alone they could learn; it was her practices and devotions, too, which they copied when they set about to efface everything by which Protestantism had been distinguished from Romanism. We have already seen them in former days trying to restore to the Holy Eucharist, which had until then been so

scandalously neglected, its rightful place in public worship; we have seen them striving to make its "celebration" more regular, frequent, and esteemed. Now they took another step forward. They set themselves to bring back the two institutions, the repudiation of which had seemed to be the essence of the Reformation—the monastic life and Confession.

The creation of Anglican convents had for some time past been the dream of Pusey and the early leaders of the Movement. "N[ewman] and I," he wrote on December 18, 1839, "have separately come to think it necessary to have some *Sœurs de Charité*¹ in the Anglo-Catholic [Church]." He recognized, indeed, that that Church would be incomplete unless it offered a career to those who felt called to practise the Counsels of Perfection. More than one such soul had taken him as a confidant and counsellor. Indeed, an inmate of his own home—his daughter Lucy—had already vowed herself in spirit to follow the religious life. But how was such a change to be brought about? Pusey was under no delusion as to the mountain of prejudice which he would encounter in the Protestant world, which regarded the very notion of religious celibacy with hatred and suspicion. Moreover, he knew little or nothing about the organization and direction of convents, and it was to remedy this ignorance that he had, in 1840, visited Ireland, and made inquiries about the working of Catholic monasteries, while he had also, through the medium of friends, conducted a similar quest on the Continent, desiring especially in this way to procure the rules of different Orders. On April 22, 1844,

¹ These words are in French in Pusey's letter (*Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 5).

as he informs his "dear Newman," while kneeling by the death-bed of his daughter, he had charged her, when once she was in the presence of her Redeemer, to pray for the establishment of convents, to one of which she herself had hoped to belong.

He believed that the formation in 1845 in a London parish of a community of Sisters devoted to ministering to the poor and the dying, and the rescuing of abandoned children, was the result of this intercession. The rule he gave them was suggested by that of St. Augustine, and he modelled their prayers and devotions upon the Roman Breviary. He devoted a part of his stay in London to the spiritual direction of the Sisters, and in his absence this was undertaken by the vicar of the parish, Mr. Dodsworth, who a few years later went over to Rome. The early days of the convent were beset with difficulties. In spite of its modest beginning it did not fail to arouse many prejudices. The rules and devotions of the Sisters, their very dress were enough to invoke a cry of "Romanism," nor were the difficulties confined to the outside world. In the convent itself the painful lack of experience and the total absence of authority in the Church of England were not neutralized by the zeal of the Sisters. Pusey felt keenly the difficulties of the scheme now that he had tried to put it into practice, and for the moment he was not inclined to encourage other clergymen in their dreams of establishing Sisterhoods in their own parishes, fondly imagining that it would be no more difficult than setting up a philanthropic club. So excellent was this scheme, borrowed from the Catholic tradition, that, although sown on such ungrateful soil, it did not perish. The little plant developed and put forth

shoots—first at Devonport, where in 1847 Miss Sellon, under Pusey's auspices, founded another community, which was destined to make more stir and to raise more storms than the London house; then at Wantage and at Clewer, in the Oxford diocese, two other convents were established. From these houses the movement spread in the years that followed, until in our own day, though communities of men are still rare in the Church of England, those of women are numerous enough to alarm some Protestants, who feared that the convents already equalled in number those that had existed before the Reformation.

But Protestant prejudice was even more inflamed against the confessional than against convents. This was well understood by Tractarians, who only spoke of it in whispers, while those among them who attempted to restore its use did so in secret. Nevertheless in a Movement which was bringing men back to Catholic practices, Confession was logically bound gradually to find a place in their religious life. The Bishops, of course, were somewhat frightened, and Blomfield of London, in 1843, refused to license a clergyman who had insisted in a sermon on the necessity of auricular Confession.¹

Pusey has related that he had begun as early as 1838 to hear the confession of his penitents² and to give them absolution, and he strongly recommended the practice of Confession in the devotional books which he adapted a few years later from Catholic sources. It has already been related how, in February, 1846, he proclaimed his doctrine with some openness in the sermon preached before the University on the "Power of the Keys and

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, p. 284.

² *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 269.

Complete Absolution of the Sinner." From that time Pusey's work as Confessor grew, and in all parts of England were to be found clergymen and women sighing for the moment when they could open their consciences to him whom they spoke of as the "Father."¹ The object of suspicion on the part of the Bishops, without a benefice or authority in any particular parish, Pusey possessed, nevertheless, by reason of the confidence of those who appealed to him, a kind of unlimited jurisdiction, like one big parish, as he said, of which the members were scattered through the whole country.²

Wherever he went he heard Confessions. Writing to Keble from London, where he was spending a few days in 1847, he mentions that he has to hear six General Confessions.³ In the convents founded by him the Sisters had the practice of regular Confession, and he specially advised its use for children of seven years and upwards.

"Every case of penitence I know of," he wrote, "began in early sin, for which Confession would have been the remedy. I know of . . . thousands of (cases) of deadly early sin which Confession might, by God's blessing, have saved."⁴

He copied in Confession the rules and ceremonies of the Catholic Church, a fact which soon called forth this reproach from Bishop Wilberforce: "You seem to me to be habitually assuming the place and doing the work of a Roman Confessor, and not that of an English clergyman."⁵

¹ *Some Sidelights on the Oxford Movement*, p. 49.

² *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 169.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 88.

⁵ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii., p. 90.

It only needs a glance at Pusey's letters of directions to see that, with rare exceptions, their tone is that of the spiritual life as taught by the Catholic Church.

Keble, too, maintained that anyone who should succeed in restoring Confession in the Church of England would "do one of the best things for this poor Church, as she is at present."¹ He himself set the example by acting as spiritual director to many souls, his only reservation being that an Anglican Confessor should leave more to the decision and the responsibility of the penitent than was done, as he believed, in the Roman Church.

Manning was also one of those who wished to restore Confession. He did not, indeed, recommend it as publicly as Pusey, but in private interviews he declared it to be not a mere council of perfection but a precept of penance, and this in spite of objections founded upon conflicting rights of priest and husband. He had begun in 1840 to hear Confessions at Lavington and elsewhere. These were invested with a certain amount of mystery. He chose a time when the Church was empty, and closed the door, but this air of mystery was nothing compared to the seriousness and solemnity with which he discharged his office. Wearing his surplice, he sat opposite the kneeling penitent, made over him the Sign of the Cross, and ended by pronouncing absolution, using the Catholic form. His reputation for wisdom drew to him many penitents, especially those who were seeking to resist the temptation to enter the Catholic Church. He carried on a real spiritual direction, prescribed exercises of piety and devotional practices as well as such exterior

¹ *John Keble*, by Walter Lock, pp. 207-211; *Life of Keble*, by J. D. Coleridge, pp. 299, 300.

and interior mortifications as appeared suitable to each particular penitent. He felt, moreover, that in carrying on this ministry he was benefiting his own soul. Summing up in 1847 the principal means by which his "Conversion," as he then called it, had been helped, he specially noted the habit he had formed of hearing Confessions.

A handful of the clergy here and there followed the example of Pusey, Manning, and Keble, and, like them, undertook the office of Confessors, not, however, without much blundering and hesitations, due to their want of experience. All this was done without the authority of the Bishops, and often without their knowledge or contrary to their wish. No clergyman troubled himself to apply to his Bishop for faculties of jurisdiction. Each one assumed these powers to himself according to his own will, and thus the office of this tribunal needing such a delicate handling was carried on without regulation or supervision. By several clergymen this unlimited and uncontrolled power was abused. Those in a position to know something of the beginnings of the Anglican Confessional bear witness to the fact that more than one soul at that time left sorely troubled, tortured and perplexed.

Among the very best of these clergymen Protestant habits of mind mingled an indefinable inconsequence and want of discipline with their sincere longing for Catholic life. For instance, Pusey himself, convinced advocate of Confession, waited until 1846 before making his own, and yet no one had a more profound consciousness of his own sins than he, and he looked upon every trial that came to him as a punishment for them. He loved to describe

himself as a penitent, and looked upon himself as in the sight of God covered with a kind of leprosy. The strange scruple which kept him from Confession showed how imperfectly he grasped the idea of the Catholic Sacrament. So heavy and so hideous did he feel his sins, he tells us, that he hesitated to cast them upon another.¹ It needed the distress caused by Newman's secession, the work of preparing his sermon on the entire absolution of the sinner, and finally, his meditations during an illness which attacked him just then, to put an end to his hesitation. On November 1, 1848, he intimated to Keble his desire to be heard by him in Confession. For a whole month he prepared for it, seriously humiliating himself outwardly and inwardly, and urging his "Father," as he called Keble, to treat him no longer as a friend but as a penitent. The Confession took place on December 1, and Pusey came from it much comforted, with the feeling that he had derived many graces therefrom. He intended that this act should bear practical fruit, and he submitted for his Confessor's approval a rule of life in great detail, which shows how far he had of his own accord advanced along the path leading to Catholic asceticism. The following are some of the resolutions which he proposed to take: To wear hair-cloth always by day unless ill; to use a hard seat by day, and a hard bed by night; not to wear gloves; to travel as poorly as possible; not to take wine or beer, unless obliged to do so by a physician; never to notice anything unpleasant in what was set on the table, but to take it in preference, and in a penitential spirit; to mortify curiosity in every possible way; never to speak of himself or his work, whenever he could help doing so; to give way

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 93-98.

in argument whenever it was not a duty to maintain his opinion; to avoid excitement or jesting when speaking, except when with children; to repeat the penitential psalms, or verses of them, when walking alone or in Chapter; to make an act of internal humiliation, whenever any mark of outward respect was shown him.¹

Keble was much perplexed at having to express his opinion upon these numerous and austere resolutions. His main object was to moderate their severity for fear of Pusey's health, and he dissuaded him in particular from giving himself discipline each night as he proposed. At the same time he asked Pusey's leave to keep a draft of his rule of life for his own guidance, and, until Keble's death in 1866, Pusey continued to make his Confession to him three times a year.

The same advance in piety and virtue which became more and more Catholic in aspect and strikingly opposed to Protestant phariseeism appeared also in Manning, and struck all who came in contact with him. "He is the holiest man I ever met," was Sidney Herbert's comment.

In the spring of 1847 a serious illness caused him to lay aside his duties for several weeks, and brought him face to face with death. During this time he made a long examination of his conscience, of which a touching and edifying account is preserved to us in his private journal. His temptations and sins are scrutinized with a severity of which saintly souls alone possess the secret.

He makes resolutions of moral reformation and a life of austerity; details the mortifications and devotional practices by which he intends to bind himself, such as fasting

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 104-108.

during Lent, reading the Scriptures on his knees, frequent recitals of the penitential psalms and Confession. Above all he resolves to die to the world according to the rules of St. Francis, that world to the seductions of which he reproaches himself for having yielded. His illness was thus turned into a spiritual retreat; he felt that he had received great graces.

"Blessed time," he wrote in his diary, "I never was so alone with God; never so near to Him; never so visited by Him; never so awakened from dreaming; never so aware of the vain show in which I have been walking; never so conscious of the realities of the world beyond the grave."¹

This fervour was equally to be seen in many friends of Pusey and Manning, such as Keble, Church, and others less known, whose life-stories have not been written.

Some of them remained Anglicans to the end, and the real work of sanctification was accomplished, notwithstanding the fact of their being in error. Some Catholics found it difficult to admit this, or at least were surprised and even scandalized at such an opinion being expressed. This was a false and narrow view of the phenomena of conscience. The reality of this fact has been admitted by the highest authorities, who had no difficulty in supplying its theological explanation. In 1850, at a time when his controversies with Anglicans were most acute, Newman explained in one of his lectures on certain difficulties found by Anglicans in Catholic teaching, that grace acts upon souls that are in good faith, who, although outside the visible unity of the Church, seek sincerely to do the will of God, and he recalls the scholastic distinction between grace given *ex opere operato*, as in the Sacraments, and

¹ *Life of Manning*, pp. 330-341.

that given *ex opere operantis*, when it has for an instrument the interior action of the soul which receives it. But he warned his auditors to guard themselves carefully against the sophism which might make them infer from the reality of this grace and the sanctification which follows it, the notion that they are therefore in the True Church, or that they can remain in a Church separated from the centre of unity without endangering their salvation.

Manning also inculcated the same truth, and bore the same testimony. He rebuked those Catholics who could not believe in the virtue and piety of Anglicans, and after explaining the doctrine of grace to the same effect as Newman, he went on to remark :

“My experience among those who are out of the Church confirms all I have written of the doctrines of grace. I have intimately known souls living by faith, hope, and charity, and the sanctifying grace with the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost . . . in a word, living lives of visible sanctification, as undoubtedly the work of the Holy Ghost as I have ever seen.”¹

Cardinal Vaughan spoke to the same effect, declaring that there was not the least difficulty in believing that certain Anglicans had been visited by grace, and they had been so visited precisely when they attended sacraments that were entirely invalid.

Far from being embarrassed and vexed by this sanctification of their brothers who were separated from them, the Catholics ought, therefore, to have blessed God for it ; so that Manning, in 1866, proclaimed his joy at every example of conformity with the Catholic Church shown by the English Church.

¹ This passage is taken from a note found among Manning's papers (*Life of Manning*, by Purcell, vol. iii., p. 780).

This same clear-sighted and liberal view is also to be found in an article published in 1899 in the magazine of the English Jesuits, *The Month*, by Father Rickaby, who, in discussing Pusey's spiritual letters, paid homage to the good faith and saintliness of their author :

"The progress of the Catholic Church," he said, "did not consist merely in increasing the number of the faithful by conversions. The profound sense of the majesty of God, the continual prayers, the faith in the dogmas of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the necessity of grace, the anxiety to confess their sins shown among those who were not members of the Roman Church, the efforts made by young men to keep themselves pure, the charity of the well-to-do—all this was a gain for Catholicism, and rejoiced the heart of the Pope. All this prepared the field for conversions, for it was among such men that conversions to the Roman Church occurred."

Here we see the truly Catholic idea, in the light whereof we must regard the evolution which, during more than half a century, has been in progress in the Anglican Church. Let us not lose sight of it. It will enable us without difficulty to do justice to some noble souls; it will help us to retain our hopes, even in face of temporary disappointments; it will give us, as far as we are capable of receiving, a more complete understanding of the designs of Providence.

CHAPTER VIII

PUSEYITE DIFFIDENCE

- I. Events belie those who, like Pusey, sought to prove that the Church of England was not Protestant—The Jerusalem Bishopric—Hampden's appointment—Futility of the protestations. II. Pusey's statement that his doctrine does not necessarily lead to Rome is severely criticized—Conversion of the clergy of St. Saviour's Church, Leeds, founded by him, to Catholicism—He refuses to alter his attitude. III. Manning begins to doubt Anglicanism—His behaviour to those inclined to Romanism—His journey to Rome—The Hampden controversy impresses him anew with the untenability of the Anglican theory, and he feels it his official duty to palliate its results. IV. The Gorham controversy—The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decides in favour of Gorham—Consternation among the upholders of the Catholic character of the Church of England—Failure of the attempts to have the decisions rescinded and to extricate the Anglican Church.

THE only way in which Pusey and his friends could justify their *via media* was by finding an answer on one side to Catholics, who reproached them with the irremediable Protestantism of the Anglican Church, and on the other to Anglicans, who accused them of leading people to Rome. To the first they had to prove that the Anglican Church had separated itself from Protestant heresy, and to the second that their return to Catholic belief and practices did not lead by logical consequence to submission to the Pope. Now on both these points a never-ending succession of facts occurred to prove that they were in the wrong. It was difficult to uphold the orthodoxy of

the Established Church in face of the attitude adopted by its rulers towards two matters which then stirred the ecclesiastical world. One of these was the establishment in 1841, in conjunction with Prussia, of the Jerusalem Bishopric, an event which had contributed not a little to open Newman's eyes. The first occupant of the See had now died, and it was the King of Prussia's turn to nominate his successor. His choice fell upon a former Lutheran minister who had lately become an Anglican deacon, Gobat by name, and a book published by him was suspected of containing Nestorian or Monophysite heresy. Pusey set to work not only to prevent Gobat's consecration, but to obtain the abrogation of the whole principle of this Bishopric. He pointed out the danger which this new stain of heresy would present to those whose loyalty was already wavering, and explained that those who had seceded had not been so much attracted by Rome as alarmed at the state of their own Church. He added that if the Bishops realized that state of mind, their hands would tremble as they consecrated the new Bishop of Jerusalem. In vain was he seconded in his opposition by Marriott, Church, J. B. Mozley, and even by the Bishop of Exeter. His cry of alarm found no echo in high quarters, and the Archbishop of Canterbury contented himself with obtaining from Gobat an explanation, more or less satisfactory, of his past writings, coupled with a declaration of his adhesion to the Anglican formularies, on the strength of which he consecrated him Bishop on July 5, 1846.¹

The other matter made a good deal more stir. It concerned the appointment to a Bishopric of Dr. Hampden,

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 70-78.

whose nomination to the Chair of Divinity at Oxford in 1836 had, on the ground of his anti-dogmatic Latitudinarianism, caused so much excitement, and had led to a vote of censure in the Convocation of the University. The attempt had been made in 1842 to take advantage of the reaction against Tractarianism to secure the reversal of this vote from Convocation, but in vain, and in 1847, while Dr. Hampden still lay under the censure, the Prime Minister, who was then Lord John Russell, recommended him to the Queen as Bishop of Hereford.¹ The Prime Minister's idea was to appoint Liberal Bishops, whose influence would be hostile to the High Church character of the Church. From this point of view the censure made Lord John Russell more disposed to choose Hampden. It was a title in his favour; indeed, it was the only one, for in other respects Hampden was not above the average man. In spite of their docility the clergy regarded the appointment as an affront. Protest arose in all quarters. Pusey, Keble, and their friends were not alone in their indignation. As in 1836, they were joined by many Evangelicals and by some partisans of Broad Church ideas, who could not help regarding the appointment as at least an impertinence. Thirteen Bishops addressed a joint remonstrance to the Prime Minister, an event without precedent since the Reformation, and other prelates, among them the Primate, expressed their disapproval in private letters to Lord John Russell.

This revolt only brought out more glaringly the slavery of the Church and the weakness of the Bishops. The

¹ For account of the controversy, cf. *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 158-166; *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. i., pp. 417-516; *Life of Lord John Russell*, by Spencer Walpole, vol. i., pp. 475-480; *Life of Stanley*, vol. i., pp. 347-353.

Prime Minister from the first set aside these remonstrances with lofty inflexibility, putting against them the superior rights of the royal supremacy. In the complaints which had been made he affected to see nothing but a manœuvre of the party who shared the opinions of Newman without having the honesty to follow him. It was, he added, no surprise to him that such persons dreaded to see on the Episcopal bench a man who was resolute in maintaining Protestant doctrine.

Thus repulsed, the malcontents turned to the judicial power, and made an attempt to prosecute Dr. Hampden before Bishop Wilberforce for heretical preaching; but Wilberforce, who had at first offered a keen resistance to the appointment, suddenly softened, and after appearing to favour the prosecution, ended by opposing it. Many looked upon this as a recantation, and severely criticized the Bishop in consequence.¹

At this juncture the question arose whether there was not some stage in the election of the Bishop at which an obstacle could be placed in the carrying out of the Prime Minister's wishes. Was it not the fact that when a vacancy occurred in a See the successor had to be elected by the Chapter, which received from the Crown the *congé d'élire*, and that this election had to be subsequently confirmed by a council representing the Metropolitan and the Bishops of the province? Yes. But these relics of bygone independence were mere externals; the royal letter conveying to the Chapter the *congé d'élire* contained also the name of the person who was to be elected. No other choice was therefore possible, and the members of the

¹ With regard to what has been written to excuse or explain this conduct, see *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i., p. 417, etc.

Chapter who should attempt to set aside the royal choice, as well as the Bishops who refused to confirm it, would incur all the penalties of *præmunire*, which involved confiscation of their goods. It is easy enough to understand how Anglicans denounced what they called "the *congé d'élire* farce," and how little ground Lord John Russell had for fearing the action of those who opposed him. To the Dean of Hereford, who informed him that his conscience would not allow him to vote for the new Bishop, Lord John replied in words of frigid irony that he had the honour to acknowledge the Dean's letter, in which he announced his intention to break the law!

On the day of the election the members of the Chapter dared not follow the Dean's example, and two only out of sixteen Canons refused to vote. The election had still to be confirmed at Bow Church by the commission presided over by the Vicar-General, representing the Primate, and two lawyers. This was the next stage in the "farce." On the appointed day, in accordance with the ancient practice still religiously observed, the Apparitor called upon objectors to come forward. These were at hand, but when they wished to explain their case, the commission, after argument and deliberation, decided that they could not be heard. This decision was confirmed on appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench. The matter was brought forward in the House of Lords by the Bishop of Exeter, and the Government's reply was that it could not for one moment be supposed that the Crown would call an unworthy person to the Episcopate; that the invitation to objectors was a pure form; that the privilege thus offered had never been used, otherwise the prerogative of the Crown would be seriously affected; and that the

refusal to listen to objectors preserved the Church from a great evil and a dangerous scandal. A last effort was made—the Archbishop of Canterbury was petitioned to order an ecclesiastical inquiry—but in vain. The Primate declared that “he was obliged by his office to obey the order of Her Majesty,” and accordingly, on March 26, 1848, he consecrated the Bishop imposed on the Church by Lord John Russell.

The gravest part of this affair was not the greater or less orthodoxy of the new Bishop, which the obscurity of his writings left doubtful and open to endless debate. It was the open manifestation of the absolute dependence of the Church upon the civil power. It brought clearly to light that Bishops were chosen by the Prime Minister according to his own likes or dislikes and his party feeling, and that such Bishops, when once appointed, were reduced to the condition of mere instruments of the Government, even the best among them regarding such obedience as the first duty of their office. Nothing could show more clearly that the Anglican Church was wanting in the conditions which people of more enlightened religious understanding were beginning to judge essential to a true Church. Catholic writers were not slow in pointing out how much the state of things favoured their contentions, and Dr. Wiseman specially laid stress upon this in an article published in the *Dublin Review* for December, 1847.

The wrong thus inflicted on his Church was a cause of suffering to Pusey. It was, he said, the heaviest blow it had sustained since the loss of Newman, and the Bishops’ attitude aroused his indignation. “They are all of them against us,” he wrote.

Their defection was more lamentable in his eyes than

the Government's choice of Hampden. An act of tyranny, he declares, does not injure the Church, but the same cannot be said of the treason of its own guardians.

He made no secret of his uneasiness as to the effect upon wavering souls, though he hastened to add that his own loyalty was unshaken.

"I am not disturbed," he wrote, "because I never attached any weight to the Bishops. It was, perhaps, the difference between Newman and me; he threw himself upon the Bishops, and they failed him; I throw myself on the English Church and the Fathers as, under God, her support."¹

Pusey, however, did not explain how the Church could exist apart from its rulers and its hierarchy.

Keble set himself equally to reassure those whose loyalty to the Church had been shaken by the Episcopal heresies, and reminded them that the formularies which condemned these heresies remained in force as the rule of the Church, notwithstanding all that had passed. He added :

"So far from retiring on account of the mistaken toleration of such views, it is an additional reason for every one of us to keep his post and do his best, as I understand Saint Basil and others to have done with the Semi-Arian Bishops of their time."²

II

If the facts contradicted Pusey when he tried to prove to Catholics that the Anglican Church was not in its essence stained by Protestant heresy, he met with no

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 161-163.

² *John Keble*, by Walter Lock, pp. 151-153.

greater success when he tried to defend Puseyism from the charge that it led towards Rome. Among many other instances which disproved his contention may be mentioned the events which occurred in 1846 and 1847 at St. Saviour's, Leeds. This church had been built in the most populous quarter of that industrial centre at Pusey's expense. He had undertaken this foundation as early as 1839 on the death of his wife, with a view of expiating the sins which had brought this great sorrow upon him. The church cost him over £6,000, but to keep his liberality unknown, he had allowed people to think that he was the agent of an anonymous donor who only required that the following inscription, "Ye who enter this holy place pray for the sinner who built it," should be inscribed over the porch. The building was carried on from 1839 till 1845 through the critical stages of the Oxford Movement. The Vicar of Leeds, Dr. Hook, at first in favour of the new church, soon began to have misgivings. Hook was a man of a generous but passionate nature, as quick to quarrel as he was to form friendships. He belonged to the High Church school, and had sympathized from the beginning with the Tractarian Movement, but was equally prejudiced against anything which remotely savoured of Popery, and hence it was with no very friendly eye that he had watched the introduction of certain architectural features in the new church. The Bishop of Ripon was equally suspicious; he had forbidden the church to be called "Holy Cross," and only allowed the inscription to be placed over the porch when he was assured that the "sinner" in question still lived. He also insisted upon a wooden table being substituted for the proposed stone altar, and refused to allow the use of a

chalice, on which Pusey, after his daughter's death, had the words, *Propitius esto, Domine, Lucix*, engraved.¹

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the church was completed towards the end of 1845, and the consecration was fixed for October 28. It was arranged that on the occasion a course of nine sermons should be preached by Pusey and others more or less closely connected with the Tractarian Movement—Keble, Marriott, Manning, Isaac Williams, Copeland, Richards, Dodsworth, and Churton. But the tidings of Newman's conversion made Hook and his Bishop more nervous than ever, and they suggested to Pusey that the course of sermons should be abandoned, or that they should contain distinctly anti-Roman utterances. Among those announced to preach, some retired of their own accord in discouragement; but Pusey remained firm. He maintained that he could not abandon the proposed ceremonies without confessing that the English Church was disorganized, and he refused absolutely to make an anti-Roman declaration.

"I am sure," he wrote to Hook, "that our Church will do absolutely nothing through any Protestant view or system in it." And after showing the necessity of leaning upon the undivided primitive Church, he declared that what he wished to do was "to treat positive truth uncontroversially, and leave the issue with God."²

Hook yielded to Pusey's persistence, and in the early days of November everything was carried out as had been arranged. Within nine days nineteen sermons were preached containing Anglo-Catholic ideas, but keeping clear of controversy with Rome. On the conclusion of

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. ii., pp. 466-486.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 489, 490.

the festival the assembled clergy signed a joint address to the Bishop, in which, after alluding to the troubles of the moment, and their own deep sorrow at the loss of those who had left the Church, they affirmed their resolution not to be discouraged, their confidence that the paternal hand of God would always be upon their Church, and their desire to give themselves up more completely to the duties to which it had pleased God to call them.

Pusey returned home much comforted from "this blessed week," as he termed it. He was glad to think that he had produced in his Church of St. Saviour's a concrete and living illustration of the Anglicanism of his dreams, an Anglicanism which went back to Catholic practice and belief without submitting to Rome. The Rev. Richard Ward and the Rev. R. G. MacMullen, with some other clergymen whom he had called upon to serve the Church, threw themselves into their work with great ardour and some success; but their doctrinal teaching and the religious life which they wished to inculcate irritated Protestants, and representations were made to the Bishop of Ripon. The Vicar of Leeds, Dr. Hook, with characteristic impetuosity, reproached Pusey violently with having planted in Leeds a "colony of Papists" who had undone his ten years' work; and he even hinted his suspicion that there was some kind of treasonable design. Pusey answered sadly that he could only suppose that some terrible misunderstanding existed between Hook and himself, and assured him that all he had done in the distress of the late crisis had been directed towards keeping in the Church of England many who were tempted to leave it, and yet he was the very man suspected of treachery. He protested humbly, but with firmness, against this injustice,

and refused to alter his line of conduct ; he vouched that the St. Saviour's clergy were devoted servants of the English Church, and concluded by inviting Hook to join with him in praying that a peaceful issue should be brought about. This letter did not satisfy Hook, who sent frequent and aggressive messages to Pusey. He charged him with Jesuitism, not, he explained, that he believed him to be a Jesuit, but that he was under Jesuit influence. He threatened an uproar if Pusey did not put an end to the treasons of the semi-Papal colony which he had planted in the heart of Leeds, a threat the more serious as the Bishop of Ripon was inclined to intervene and adopt rigorous measures. On the other hand, the attitude of the St. Saviour's clergy was not calculated to appease the quarrel. Irritated by the struggle and driven to bay by the attacks made upon them, they still further emphasized in their preaching and mode of worship all those features which scared Protestant susceptibilities, and more than once publicly adopted a hostile attitude towards the Vicar of Leeds. Pusey, with his quiet obstinacy, refused to yield to the clamour of the malcontents, and with over-confident optimism persisted in proclaiming the fidelity of his collaborators in the Anglican Church. To all re-creminations he replied by an appeal to the spirit of union charity, and peace, and to the obligation under which lay the members of so divided a Church.¹

While this controversy was being carried on, the most distinguished member of St. Saviour's clergy, Mr. MacMullen, was received into the Catholic Church in the early days of 1847, with several of his late parishioners. In taking this step he only anticipated the greater part of

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 112-128.

his clerical brethren of St. Saviour's, who followed him at more or less long intervals. Hook, with a sort of cry of triumph, hastened to inform Pusey that MacMullen and his dupes had gone to rejoin the "Mother of abominations," and urged him to disband the rest of so suspect a body of clergy.¹

The blow was a heavy one for Pusey. "It is a breaking of one's heart," he wrote to a friend.

He felt that the whole work was to be begun anew "after the hurricane which had swept away everything." He would not, notwithstanding, abandon his work or give up his right to choose the new Vicar of St. Saviour's, but how was he to find the right man? Those to whom he first applied declined the post, and it was some time before he could succeed. He handed over to the new Vicar an absolutely disorganized work which needed to be begun afresh.

The enemies of Puseyism, of course, made the most of these conversions and redoubled their attacks. Many of Pusey's friends drew back sad and uneasy, doubtful, not of his loyalty, but of his prudence and foresight, and anxious not to be compromised by their association with him. The tone of those even whom he regarded as most in agreement with him was not very comforting. Manning, to whom he appealed, replied that, in the light of such events, he could not be surprised at the growing suspicion of which the men of the Movement were the objects. Without any regard for the illusions which Pusey cherished, he proclaimed his belief that the direct and certain tendency of what remained of the original Movement was towards the Roman Church.

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 128.

Attacked and abandoned as he was, Pusey nevertheless refused to listen to those of his friends who, like Gladstone, urged him to disarm prejudice by making some declaration against Romanism. He still adhered to what he called his neutrality towards Rome, and refused to purchase a renewal of popularity by "vague declamations," which were in his judgment contrary to justice, charity, and the welfare of souls. The firmness with which Pusey maintained his ground was an equal witness to his courage and to his blindness; he paid as little regard to hostile clamours as to the lessons afforded by the events. He was not under any delusion as the extent of the suspicions with which he was surrounded.

"All confidence in me is gone," he wrote to Gladstone. "I do not mean that it has not been my own doing; still it is gone, except among some who love me, and shaken among some of these."¹

III

Deeply as the events at St. Saviour's had wounded Pusey, they were but of little moment compared with an event which was now at hand. Unknown to the public and to Pusey himself, within the sanctuary of one man's conscience the seeds were maturing of a conversion which was destined to cause nearly as much stir as Newman's. Manning was the man who of all others in the Movement appeared most attached to his Church and most hostile to Rome—the man who wrote on hearing of the conversion of one of Newman's followers that he would rather follow a friend's funeral to the grave than hear

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 144.

of such a step; the man who at the end of 1845 declared to his most intimate friend that he felt himself incapable of doubting his Church; the one, in short, to whom all troubled consciences felt drawn for advice which should dispel their doubts and strengthen their fidelity.

The first rift in Manning's Anglican faith seems to have been caused by the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, which he had read with a view to refuting it and which had not been without effect in widening his spiritual horizon, and in giving rise to questions to which Anglicanism gave him no reply. In considering his Church by the light of these new ideas he discerned weaknesses which until then he had not observed. In 1846 he made a private note of what seemed to be its organic and functional evil. The Church of England, after three hundred years, had failed, he said, in unity of doctrine, in enforcement of discipline, in training for the higher life, in holding the *love* as distinct from the *respect* of the people, in guiding the sick, and in "folding" the people.¹

We have already seen how a dangerous illness at the beginning of 1847 brought Manning for several weeks face to face with death. This illness was the occasion of a long colloquy of his soul with God, but his thoughts seem to have been more occupied in examining his moral weaknesses than in scrutinizing the foundations of his Creed. His diary at this time contained only one or two allusions to his doubts. These, however, remained, and became more definite, so that, on his recovery, Manning for the first time resolved to take another into his confidence.

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 484.

This he did in a long letter written on June 16, 1847, which he sent from London to his curate at Lavington, Laprimadaye, whom he had for some time chosen as his Confessor. In this letter he shows himself, as we know he was, a man of action more than an abstract theologian; his doubts are concerned less with doctrinal abstractions than with the principles which govern the spiritual life. He recalled with satisfaction his labours to keep people from the Roman Church, and affirmed that he knew of no one act or word tending to unsettlement consciously spoken or done by him; that all he had written had been studiously in support, hopefully and affectionately, of the English Church. Doubts had, for all that, arisen in his mind out of the ideas suggested by the Tractarian Movement, especially those of unity and of infallibility, both necessary for a true Church. He had believed at the outset that these principles could be reconciled with the ideas of the Church of England and the rejection of Rome; he had explained this in sermons preached in 1835, 1838; and 1843; but since then, on closer consideration, he had asked himself whether these sermons had provided a satisfactory solution, and he was bound to acknowledge that he would not now be able to republish what he had formerly written. Study of the Fathers and of ecclesiastical history had made him dread the idea of supporting the position of Anglican theologians; he would willingly put aside this problem; but even if he did so for himself, his duty forbade him to act thus towards those who daily consulted him on this subject. He then set out in the following words the two points on which it was absolutely necessary to have a clear knowledge:

"*First.* Is not the infallibility of the Church a necessary consequence of the presence of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity; and of His perpetual office, beginning from the Day of Pentecost? This seems to me to be revealed in Scripture.

"A perpetual presence, perpetual office, and perpetual *infallibility*—that is, a living voice witnessing for truth and against error under the guidance of the Spirit of Christ—seem inseparable.

"*Secondly.* Is it not a part of the revealed will and ordinance of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the Church should be under an Episcopate united with a visible head, as the Apostles were united with St. Peter? It is not the question of primacy with me so much as *unity of the Episcopate. Episcopatus unus est.*

"I take St. Peter to have been the first of Apostles, as the Primate of Christendom is the first of Bishops; in spiritual order or power all being equal.

"Now these two questions are two *principles*, which involve all details. And the course of examination which has led me to them is the canon of 1562—*i.e.*, Scripture interpreted by antiquity. The Council of Chalcedon, which the Church of England recognizes, exhibits them both in a form and distinctness which I cannot at present reconcile with what I have hitherto believed to be tenable."

He recognized that such declarations could well be interpreted as the announcement of his approaching secession, but affirmed that no prospect could inspire him with greater repugnance and even terror.

"All bonds of birth, blood, memory, love, happiness, interest, every inducement which can sway and bias my will, bind me to my published belief. To doubt it is to call in question all that is dear to me. If I were to give it up I should feel that it would be like death; as if all my life had become extinct. Believe me, then, that nothing short of a mass of evidence inspired and uninspired all going one way—and this evidence I have

before me—could make me hesitate to shut my eyes, and take the Church of England on trust for ever as I have done with a loving heart in times past.”

“But the Church of England herself sends me by canon to antiquity, and in obeying it I find what I cannot solve. . . .”

Manning’s difficulty and distress were increased by the fact which he mentioned in a letter to Robert Wilberforce, that “people were rising up all over the country and appealing to him to solve doubts and difficulties which perplexed his own mind.”¹ He would have judged it disloyal to his Church to disclose anything of his own doubts; but, on the other hand, it was difficult for him to use arguments of which he was not absolutely certain. He tried, however, to confirm the loyalty of those who were wavering and to persuade them to put off their secession. He acted in this manner in the case of a clergyman who has already been mentioned, T. W. Allies. Since Newman’s conversion, Allies had been in serious distress of mind. He had determined to devote several years to the task of examining the reasons for his doubts. During this time he read and wrote much, and spent some time on the Continent nearly every year in order to study Catholicism on the spot. Allies thus gained a clearer perception of the short-comings of Anglicanism, and felt more strongly drawn towards Catholicism, in which he found all of which he deplored the absence in his own communion. But he came to no definite conclusion. Whilst recognizing the Church of Rome as the true Church, he still looked upon it as a corrupt one, and his works, displeasing as they were to his fellow Anglicans, aimed at justifying Anglicanism from the reproach of

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 464.

schism.¹ There were many ties which kept him back. Though he corresponded with Newman, he had much more frequent intercourse with Keble, Pusey, and, above all, with Manning. He appealed to him in June, 1847. Manning in reply, speaking from his own experience, put Allies on his guard against novel ideas and appearances of light, as to which it was so easy to be under a delusion.

"Sin in ourselves," he said, "will quite unconsciously distort our view. We often seem to ourselves quite impartial, yet are acted upon by the very influence from which we suppose ourselves free. God's voice is to be waited for *thrice* as in Samuel's case. If there be really a mind saying 'Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth,' there can be no resisting of conscience."

Referring to his late illness Manning added that "he considered more than ever before the probability that he might soon have to render his account; and though very anxious about *what* he was, had felt no anxiety as to *where* he was."

Manning thought that Allies had not yet been given the third call which would alone oblige him to move. There was "an extreme calmness, gentleness, and considerateness, both in the manner and matter of his speaking, which left a strong impression."² Many were thus diverted by Manning from yielding to what he believed to be the Roman temptation. With a large number their conversion was only delayed, as was the case with

¹ Witness the book which went through successive editions in 1846 and 1848, entitled *The Church of England cleared from the Charge of Schism upon Testimonies of Councils and Fathers of the First Six Centuries*.

² *A Life's Decision*.

Allies himself, while with others the effect of his advice was only too decisive and they remained to the end in the communion which he had himself abandoned.

When Manning recovered from his illness he was advised by his doctor to travel abroad, especially in Italy. Some who suspected his state of mind were anxious at his prolonged stay in a Catholic land. He reassured them, reminding them that he had already spent six months in Italy—three in Rome, the effect of which had always been “highly repulsive”—that no devotional consolation could move him in that respect; and that his difficulties were of a different order.¹ His tour, which lasted close upon a year—from July, 1847, to June, 1848—took him to Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, where he spent the winter and spring. His journal² shows that he was entirely occupied in attending Church services, hearing sermons, visiting convents and interviewing priests, especially members of religious orders, and in growing acquainted with the details of public worship, and he had little or no curiosity for ordinary sight-seeing. At the most he took an interest in the problems of religious policy, in which during the first troublous months of 1848 the inexperienced but generous spirit of Pius IX. was involved. He eagerly seized the opportunity of conversing with Father Ventura and the Abbé Gerbet; he also called upon Newman, who was then at the Propaganda; and he took a walk with Ambrose St. John, the young companion of the distinguished convert. On two occasions he was received in audience by Pius IX., but was surprised and saddened at finding that the Pope

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 472.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 343-418.

was not familiar with the men and events of Anglicanism, and "it made me," he said later on, "feel our isolation."¹ The Pope's reception was, however, cordial, and he praised the works of charity which were being done in England. "When men do good works, God gives grace, and my poor prayers are offered every day for England," said the Pope.

Nothing in this interview led the Pope to suspect that he was speaking to the man who was one day to be one of the main supporters of his ecclesiastical policy.

This long sojourn in Catholic countries diminished in Manning the repulsion which his former visits to Rome had excited, and even if he met ecclesiastics who pressed him with more zeal than discretion, or if he was taken aback at their refusal to admit his contention that he could be at the same time an Anglican and a Catholic, a member of the universal Church yet separated from Rome, a pleasant impression remained of most of those whom he met. His visit to Assisi gave him great pleasure, and he was particularly impressed by the long conversations which he had with an old Franciscan, Father F. Luigi, with whom he exchanged the "kiss of peace" at parting. He enjoyed equally the harmonious symbolism of the Liturgy which he contrasted with the frigid Protestant ritual, and a looker-on would have said that he was quite at home in the churches in which he spent the greater part of his time. In these respects he differed from the majority of the 1845 converts, who, before their submission to the Church, had avoided, through scruple or repugnance, any intercourse with priests, or attendance at Catholic churches. This, it will be remembered, was so much the case, that one of them, on finding that he

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 416.

had entered a Catholic church by mistake, fled precipitately—a prey to what he described as a “panic of conscience.” It must not be assumed, however, that Manning had made any decisive step towards Catholicism. His state of mind remained unchanged, nor did he deem that his attempt to know more of another branch of the Church, and his approval of its good points, was disloyalty to the communion to which he belonged.

As in Newman’s case, Manning’s doubts came not so much from what he learned about Catholicism from mixing with Catholics as from what he knew personally about Anglicanism, and he was much more shaken during his foreign tour with the news which reached him from England than by things he saw in Rome. It was just at that time that Hampden’s appointment to the See of Hereford was creating so much discussion. Far as he was from home, Manning was greatly perturbed. He wrote on February 12, 1848, “under the seal” (of Confession), to Robert Wilberforce: “I feel my position altered by this event, and unless the reasons which I will give can be shown to be without force, I am afraid of thinking of the future.”

He was convinced that Hampden’s writings were heretical in *matter* and *form*, that the Episcopate “was fully made partaker of this heterodoxy, as was the whole Church, priesthood, and laity” in communion with the Episcopate. It was in his opinion a sign that the Church of England had abdicated its office as a keeper of Catholic traditions; that she could no longer be regarded as a “witness” of Divine revelation, except as an “epitaph.” He added that this event had brought out the unhappy truth that the civil power was the ultimate judge of

doctrine in England, a principle which was as heretical as it was atheistical, and he concluded :

"I do not know how I can serve a body that I cannot defend. I seem *reduced* to a choice between my faith and all its foundations on one side, and all that life is, which is dear to me, on the other. The grounds on which I have striven and under God, not without hope, to keep others in the Church of England, are falsified."

He denies in advance that he is writing under stress of mental agitation or excitement: "What I have written has been steadily advancing in my mind these ten years, and outward events do but verify old fears and project old convictions upon realities."

Three days later, in another letter, he recurs to the subject :

"But there are truths so primary and despotic that I cannot elude them. Such is the infallibility of the mystical body of Christ on earth through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. . . . If the Church of England does not partake of this property it affords no foundation for my faith. It is useless to offer me antiquity for my foundation. What do I know of antiquity? . . . It cannot be denied that we have two contradictory theologies. . . . I am afraid that Hampden, if consecrated, will force us to confess more."¹

Notwithstanding these ideas, Manning had not yet decided to leave the Church, the frailty of which was so manifest; a longer time was needed to tear himself from such deep-rooted prejudices and to snap the bonds so close and so dear. Newman had experienced the same difficulty, which was equally shared by many disciples. Their good faith and sincerity were genuine, although

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 508-513.

giving rise to suspicion. Newman's reply to this sort of criticism was, as we have heard already, St. Augustine's words: "Let those judge severely who have not known the difficulties of distinguishing truth from error, and of finding the true way to life in the midst of the illusions of this world."

From the moment that he decided that he had no right as yet to leave the Church of England, Manning felt it his duty to serve her by continuing to avoid any disclosure of his own secret difficulties. He had scarcely returned to England before he was called upon in his capacity of Arch-deacon, in his charge of July, 1848, to deal with the case of Hampden, whose consecration was by that time an accomplished fact. Far from denouncing the "scandal" he felt bound by his office to minimize it. He pointed out that no heresy had been officially imputed to Hampden, and that he had accepted all the doctrines held by the Church to be "faith" at the time of his consecration.

"We are now released from the necessity of forming opinions as to past theological statements justly censured. We may accept the last public subscription as a fact closing up a retrospect which nothing but new necessity can reopen."¹

This charge was variously judged. While some accepted it as satisfactory, others complained that Manning showed too much of a politic subtlety and a desire to please. But his motive, notwithstanding Purcell's insinuations, was a scrupulous loyalty more than calculated ambition. It was one of the many consequences of the false position which opposed the doubts of his secret conscience to the public duties of his office.

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 479.

Great as was his reserve, Manning was unable to conceal altogether his inner thoughts from his intimates. Allies, who, though still perplexed, was drawing nearer to Catholicism without taking the decisive step, wrote in his diary, under date December 14, 1848, the account of an interview with Manning and Henry Wilberforce :

"As far as I can judge, M. and H. W. are as little satisfied with the present state of things among us, as little able to see their way, as much embarrassed to give a *rationale* of the phenomena on both sides, which will completely satisfy their hearts and consciences, as myself. M. is cautious, and H. W. impetuous, but I think there is not much difference of view in them at bottom, or with myself. I have derived much comfort from this interview."¹

IV

The excitement occasioned by the Hampden case had not yet subsided when another event brought into stronger light the same defect in Anglicanism—namely, its compliance with heresy and its dependence on the State. In November, 1847, the living of Brampford Speke, in the diocese of Exeter, was offered by the Crown to Mr. Gorham. The Bishop, Dr. Phillpotts, refused to institute him, on the ground that he held heretical doctrines on the subject of Baptismal regeneration. The notion of Baptism, like many other points of Christian dogma, had become remarkably fluctuating in the English Church, and many Evangelicals held that Baptism did not necessarily efface original sin, and that to effect this, Baptism must be preceded or accompanied by interior grace, which God had not bound Himself to bestow through the external signs of Baptism. This doctrine deprived Baptism of nearly

¹ *A Life's Decision.*

all its value. The supporters of this view considered that they found sanction for this theory in one of the XXXIX. Articles; those who, like Bishop Phillpotts, maintained the ancient Catholic tradition, relied upon the formularies in the Prayer-Book for the official Baptism, and this was not the only case in which the Articles and the Prayer-Book disagreed.

Mr. Gorham had appealed from the Bishop to the Court of Arches, the most ancient Consistorial Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. This Court had long judged spiritual affairs, but in the course of time it had undergone a change in accordance with the spirit of the Established Church. Instead of being composed, as in former times, of ecclesiastics, it was reduced to one lay judge, who was styled the "Dean of Arches." In this case, the Dean's decision, pronounced on August 2, 1849, was in the Bishop's favour; but Gorham would not accept defeat, and appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a body exclusively composed of laymen and politicians, which, since 1832, possessed supreme authority to judge cases of this kind. In that year it had taken the place of the Court of Delegates, which, although emanating from the Crown, had been composed in part of ecclesiastics. The Judicial Committee, when religious cases came before it, called in the assistance of a few Bishops, and thus in Gorham's case the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London joined the Court; but they sat merely as assessors with the seven lay judges, and their presence did not modify the character of the tribunal. When spiritual jurisdiction had been transferred to the Privy Council, the change had come about quite naturally, and without the slightest

opposition; it was the logical outcome of the royal supremacy which the sixteenth-century reformers substituted for the supremacy of the Pope, a process expressed thus by an old clergyman (H. E. Chapman): that he "could not digest the Pope, so he decided to swallow the King."

As Newman remarked, English public opinion had accustomed itself to embody Protestantism in the person of the Sovereign, and to see in it, before all else, the religion of the throne; so much so, that to doubt the truth of Protestant doctrine was to show disloyalty towards the Monarch.

But new ideas had sprung up within the last few years. The Oxford Movement had revived the forgotten notion of a real Church which should be mistress of her own doctrine and discipline, and there were many who no longer admitted that the Established Church was a mere department of State, nearly on a level with the Army or the Navy. In 1849 Mr. Gorham's appeal to the Privy Council brought into such crude light the dependence of the Church upon the State, when men saw the decision of a Bishop on a question of dogma and discipline submitted to the sovereign judgment of a political tribunal, that a section of the Anglican world was deeply stirred, and saw in this a repetition in an aggravated form of the scandal caused by the choice of Hampden for a bishopric. But it was one thing to discern the evil and quite another to find the remedy. Men found that they could neither escape the consequences of the royal supremacy nor reconcile it with the character of a true Church. A grave problem thus arose for conscientious men, of which there was no solution and from which it was difficult to escape.

In truth, this problem has ever since been a burden to Anglicans, and has not been the least cogent of the reasons which have brought many into the Catholic Church. Pusey was one of those who realized how unfortunate must be a judicial decision which overruled an ecclesiastical judgment and was at variance with the creeds. But he added, with his usual optimistic resignation: "If God avert it not, make the best of it, and sit down by the waters of Babylon toiling on under bondage."

His correspondence with the theologians or the lawyers of his school shows him in search of some expedient by which the evil could be averted or of some means by which the Church could be relieved of responsibility; but he searched in vain, nor was he more successful when he attacked the heart of the question—namely, religious jurisdiction—and attempted to reconcile the royal supremacy, which he dared not repudiate, with doctrinal independence, which he felt to be necessary to his Church. He took good care, however, to express no conclusion hostile to his Church, which he considered it wrong to doubt. The vice of the Anglican establishment rendered both the advice he received and that which he gave absolutely powerless, and his last word was, as usual, to advocate patience and the policy of *laissez faire*. Waiting for God to provide a solution that no human agency seemed able to give, he declared that it seemed to him a case in which they must let the ship drive and not try to thrust it into any creeks.¹

One could well understand the remark of a clergyman, whose faith in the Anglican system was shaken, when, in alluding to Pusey, he said that he seemed to view the Church of England, not as she was, but through an

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 203-228.

atmosphere of filial love, so that her features were either disguised or radiant.

The hearing of the appeal in the Gorham case began before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on December 11, 1849; three months later, in March, 1850, a period fraught with anxiety for many, judgment was given. This judgment quashed the decision of the Court of Arches, and pronounced in favour of Gorham against his Bishop. Of the seven lay judges and the three Episcopal assessors, one layman (the Vice-Chancellor), and one Bishop (the Bishop of London), pronounced against the appellant. In its detailed judgment, the Court began by disclaiming any authority or jurisdiction for settling matters of faith, but it added—what amounted substantially to the same thing—that it was competent to examine what the law declared to be the doctrine of the Church of England according to the legal meaning of its Articles and formularies. In its opinion a court of justice ought not to be too minute or too rigid in affairs of this nature. Proceeding to inquire into Gorham's expressed opinions on the subject of Baptism, the Court decided that whatever be their theological exactness, these opinions were not contrary to the declared doctrine of the Church of England, and that the man who held them could not on that ground be kept out of the benefits to which he had been appointed. The consequence, then, of this judgment was, first, that the State, notwithstanding certain verbal precautions, undertakes to decide through its judges the beliefs of the Church, and that, in the next place, it uses this right to open the door to doctrines which many people consider heretical. The agitation and uneasiness which had been caused by the mere fact of the appeal

now reached the climax. The judgment was loudly applauded by the Evangelicals, who had long been hostile to all sacramental doctrine, and by the liberal school, which was ever ready to welcome anything tending towards dogmatic latitudinarianism.¹ But those who were longing for a Church which guarded its orthodoxy and independence were full of sorrow and indignation. A very cautious lawyer, Sir Roundell Palmer, did not hesitate to say that the Church was dishonoured by this judgment, and Gladstone, who was then on a sick bed, started up on receiving the news, and cried out: "The Church of England is gone, unless it releases itself by some authoritative act."² But what was this authoritative act to be? At first, indeed, the opponents of the judgment retaliated vigorously. The Bishop of Exeter, who was personally interested, sent a strongly worded protest to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was immediately published, and caused a great sensation, four editions being sold in a single day.

As was natural, the foremost among the protesting party were the leaders of the old Tractarian school. Immediately after the judgment was delivered, they held several meetings at the town residences of Gladstone and Hope to draw up a set of "Resolutions." Among the thirteen signatories were clergymen such as Manning, Robert and Henry Wilberforce, Pusey and Keble, and lawyers like Hope and Badeley. Gladstone had taken an active part in the conferences, but drew back when the moment came for him to sign. "Do you think," he said,

¹ See specially an article by A. P. Stanley in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1850.

² *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 528.

"that I, as a Privy Councillor, could sign that declaration?" Manning, "knowing the pertinacity of his character," did not press him further.¹

Although the text of the Resolutions originally inspired by Manning had been somewhat softened during the protracted discussions, it amounted in its final form to a conditional condemnation of the English Church. It specified that: "To admit the lawfulness of holding an exposition of an article of the Creed contradictory of the essential meaning of that article, is, in truth and in fact, to abandon that article," and that, "inasmuch as the faith is one and rests upon one principle of authority, the conscious, deliberate, and wilful abandonment of the essential meaning of an article of the Creed destroys the Divine foundation upon which alone the entire faith is propounded by the Church."

The agitation spread throughout the whole country; meetings were called on all sides by High Churchmen, who signed addresses to the Queen or to the Bishops; pamphlets were published, in which the writers affirmed their faith in the regenerating power of Baptism, and condemned the interference of a political tribunal in a question of religious doctrine; while reports of meetings flooded the newspaper columns. Keble published a pamphlet, in which he appeared to face disestablishment as a possible solution:

"The real Church separated from the State would be preferable to the counterfeit Church in union with the State."

In some passages he went so far as to suggest that the best course would be to take up a position analogous to

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 530.

that of the old "Non-jurors."¹ The protests signed in different parts of the country did not all go to this length; most of them were limited to affirming the doctrine of Baptism, and to demanding a more or less complete emancipation of the Church in matters of doctrine. The agitation culminated in two monster meetings held in London on July 23, 1850, at which two sections of the High Church party were represented. Speeches were made by Keble, Pusey, Denison, Robert Wilberforce, Manning, and Hope, and resolutions were passed demanding that religious questions should be submitted to a spiritual Court.

It was hoped that this agitation would produce an "Act," which, according to Gladstone, could alone save the Church by purging it from the fatal defect which had been revealed. But every effort made in this direction proved of no avail. One plan suggested was to ask the Bishops to issue a declaration which should restore the doctrine of the Church on Baptism, but the idea had to be abandoned, owing to the impossibility of getting them to agree upon this question. The Bishop of Exeter left no stone unturned to discover whether in the complicated law procedure some means could not be discovered of quashing the judgment of the Privy Council. He carried the case before every possible tribunal—the Court of Queen's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, the Court of Exchequer—but all to no avail.² After this failure in the Law Courts, there remained a possibility of help from the legislature. The Bishop of London brought

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 226; *John Keble*, by W. Lock, pp. 154-156.

² Decisions of April 25, May 27, and July 8, 1850.

in a Bill in the House of Lords, which embodied the principle of a motion he had already made more than once to modify the jurisdiction of the Privy Council; he proposed that whenever a question of religious doctrine arose before the Council, it should be remitted to the Bench of Bishops, whose advice should be binding upon the judges. In bringing forward the Bill, the Bishop denounced with great emotion the grave consequences which its rejection would entail. He declared that many who were now the precious stones of the Church might become detached. He was flippantly answered that such stones must have been badly fixed for the fabric of the Church to fall off so easily. In vain was the Bill supported by Bishop Wilberforce and Lord Stanley; the Government opposed it as an encroachment on the royal supremacy.¹ Lord Brougham brought forward an argument which was difficult to answer.

“The want of union among the Right Rev. prelates,” he said, “was so great, that no question submitted to their consideration would have a chance of a peaceful solution, and even were such a thing possible, the minority would never on such a question obey the majority.”

The Bill was defeated by 84 to 51 votes. Four only of the Bishops voted for the measure; the others, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, abstained.

While all attempts to upset the decision of the Privy Council failed, the authorities took steps to carry out its decision. The Court of Arches issued an injunction to the Bishop of Exeter to institute Mr. Gorham; in vain

¹ The Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, declared that it would totally alter the Protestant character of the Church and substitute the supremacy of the Pope for that of the Queen.

did the Bishop reply by a final protest, dated July 20, 1850, repudiating anew his communion with anyone who would "institute" Mr. Gorham. The Dean of Arches took action, and on August 6, armed with the *fiat* of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he proceeded to institute Mr. Gorham as Rector of Bramford Speke.

CHAPTER IX

CONVERSION OF MANNING

I. Divergent views among the High Church party in the Gorham judgment—Many discuss the question of their obligation to leave the Anglican Church—Amongst these are Maskell, Allies, Dodsworth, Bellasis, and Hope—Manning's increasing doubts—Pusey and Keble strive to keep back the impatient—Dodsworth and his friends seek explanations from Pusey. II. Catholics regard the crisis as hopeful—Wiseman's article—Newman's addresses at the London Oratory on "Anglican Difficulties"—Their effect. III. Conversions of Maskell, Henry Wilberforce, Dodsworth, Allies, and others—Pusey, notwithstanding the excitement caused by these secessions, and the suspicions of which he knows himself to be the object, refuses to make anti-Roman declarations—Manning, more and more convinced of the defects in his Church and of the necessity of curing them, yet delays the final step. IV. Pius IX, re-establishes the Episcopal Hierarchy in England—Wiseman's Pastoral Letter—No-Popery outbreak—"Lord John Russell's Violent Letter"—Papal aggression angrily denounced on all sides—Wiseman, taken by surprise, faces the storm with coolness and ability—He publishes an *Appeal to the English People*—Great success of this pamphlet, which partially conciliates public opinion—The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill is passed nevertheless, but becomes a dead letter. V. Manning, called upon to take part in the protest against the Pope's act, refuses to do so, and resigns his archdeaconry—His conversion, followed by that of many others, creates a great sensation in the Anglican world.

THE agitation provoked by the judgment of the Privy Council in the Gorham case showed the powerlessness of the Anglican Church to remedy Latitudinarianism and the political dependence which formed the vice of the Church. But the matter was not regarded in the

same light by all High Churchmen. From the beginning J. B. Mozley discerned among those who made a concerted protest against the judgment two opposing tendencies. On the one side were the enthusiasts, who wished to push things to the extreme at once, and on the other the patient, who were preparing for years of debate and in suspense. For the one side it was a question of spiritual life or death: Was the Anglican Church a true Church, in which one could remain in security of conscience? For the others it was only an irritating accident, to remedy which was desirable, but which did not hamper the legitimacy of the Church. When the leaders of the party assembled at the houses of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Hope, the day after the decision, to draw up a series of resolutions, this double tendency was manifest. "I suppose," said Hope, "we are all agreed that if the Church of England does not undo this, we must join the Church of Rome." At this there was some outcry, and Keble replied: "If the Church of England were to fail it should be found in my parish." Nevertheless, an agreement was reached for the drawing up of the resolutions, the sincerity of which may be gauged by the fact that out of the thirteen signatories, six were shortly to enter the Roman Church, whilst the seven others remained Anglican. Each time that the High Churchmen united to confer upon the situation, either in the drawing-room of Lady Herbert¹ or that of the Bishop of Oxford,² the same divergence invariably arose; some always seeking to know if their duty was to quit Anglicanism, and others preferring to avoid that question.

¹ *How I Entered the Fold*, by Lady Herbert of Lea.

² *Souvenirs of Aubrey de Vere*.

Among the former can be reckoned many impatient minds, who, instead of conferring with friends a little less impetuous, entered the combat single-handed. Mr. Maskell, chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter, known by his work upon ancient liturgy, was one of these. At the rise of the controversy he published a stirring pamphlet, which declared that the jurisdiction of the Privy Council was contrary to the law of Christ, it being the outcome of the organization of a Church the statutes of which were decreed by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. This was forcing the reader to acknowledge that the vice of Anglicanism was irremediable. Pusey and his friends looked to Heaven for help against what they regarded as the freak of an *enfant terrible*, but they were obliged to admit that this pamphlet would cause "great evil."¹

Another enthusiast was Mr. Allies, to whom allusion has already been frequently made. In the year 1849 he found himself in disagreement with his Bishop on the subject of a book, in which he related his impressions of Catholic France. He came out of the dispute with a growing disgust for Anglicanism and greater irritation towards its leaders, but he came to no decision. He wrote in his journal on February 14, 1850 :

"I am at one with the Roman Church on principles. . . . I think the Papal Primacy of *Divine* institution, and that in the doctrinal controversies between the two communions Rome is right. . . . And yet I feel unable to accept Rome as *the Church* ; unable to throw myself upon her with the calm conviction that I am doing right, and quitting a heresy and a schism. Intellect points that way, but heart and will are divided ; not through any fear of consequences as to temporal interests, but through in-

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., pp. 224-228.

complete conviction. . . . What can I do but wait, and pray? 'O send out Thy light and Thy truth!' "¹

The result of the Gorham scandal upon a mind thus prepared can be easily imagined. At this time Mr. Allies had been reading the famous treatise of Suarez *De erroribus sectæ Anglicanæ*. The judgment of the Privy Council presented itself as the verification of the conclusions of that Jesuit of the sixteenth century. Animated by this study and by current events, he published a pamphlet equally hostile with that of Maskell, in which he took the responsibility of applying the attacks of Suarez to his own Church. If he had not yet decided upon abjuration he was not far from it. In his journal for April 2, 1850, he says: "Since the royal supremacy, as the basis of Anglicanism, has broken upon me, I have but one view—that it *annihilates* us as a Church."²

Another such was the Rev. W. Dodsworth. He had taken his degree at Cambridge, had become one of the most zealous Vicars in London, and until that time had been associated with the work of Pusey. In his parish the first convent of Anglican Sisters was established, in 1845. As Dodsworth betrayed his doubts, Pusey began to fear the effect of his sermons upon the sisterhood.³ Being interrogated by a friend in July, 1850, upon his opinion of the National Church of England, he replied: "She cannot be upheld, she has no authority; we all realize that now." And in answer to the question as to where this authority could be found, he said: "There is no authority at all in the Church unless it is in Rome. If we seek authority in any other place we shall not find

¹ *A Life's Decision*, p. 250.

² *Ibid.*, p. 270.

³ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 261.

it. I cannot see any remedy but one—which?—Submission sooner or later to the Catholic Church.” Dods-worth added that he had never spoken upon this subject to a Catholic priest, and never assisted in England at a Catholic service. He concluded by saying that it was a matter that could only be treated of calmly, with reflection and firmness, for neither of them could plead invincible ignorance.

Bellasis, a distinguished lawyer, was also much unhinged by the conversion of Newman. His private journals of 1847 and 1848 bear witness to the disappointment he found in Anglicanism, and to his attraction by Catholicism. The Gorham case drove him still further in this direction. Such were his doubts that in 1850 he hesitated to have his son baptized in the English Church.

His friend Hope, another eminent lawyer, was in the same predicament. Meeting Bellasis during February, he said: “You know that if I were dying I should send for a Catholic priest.” A few months later Bellasis, in his turn, said to Hope that he had lost all confidence in the Church of England, and thought there was but one course to take. For ten or twelve years they had been setting up the authority of the Church, and objecting to private judgment, and now, if they were to remain, it must be by repudiating authority, and exercising their private judgment, a degree of inconsistency to which he could not reconcile himself.

The conversation was prolonged between the two friends as to what Catholic priests they felt most drawn to converse with. Bellasis was not entirely satisfied with these confidences; in several pamphlets he sought the

opinion of those who professed to remedy existing difficulties by upholding the rights of the Bishops to judge ecclesiastical matters. "Would you be willing," he wrote, "to submit yourself to their decision if it was contrary to your own particular judgment?"

This was to bring into evidence the want of sovereign and infallible authority, which, considered apart from the royal supremacy, was the essential vice of every Protestant Church. Bellasis did not admit that the solution of such a question could be postponed.

Among those whose faith in the Anglican Church was shaken at this period, Manning would have had the greatest influence. Being of a more reserved nature than Allies or Maskell, he seemed desirous of siding with Pusey, Keble, and Gladstone, and those who blamed the judgment of the Privy Council; he took an active part in their private conferences, he signed with them proclamations, and figured with them at public meetings. If he expressed any opinion, as in the pamphlet entitled, *The Judicial Appeal to the Crown in Spiritual Matters*, it was always in a measured and calm tone, void of all extravagances. But, nevertheless, he was far from agreeing with those who, while regretting the actual dependence of their Church, entertained no idea of quitting it; on the contrary, the question that faced him, and which he could not evade, was whether the Church had any right to his fidelity. Recent events had strengthened these old doubts.

From the rise of the controversy, even anterior to the decree of the Privy Council, Manning had imparted to Pusey his difficulty in reconciling the jurisdiction of the Privy Council with the long-standing idea that the Church of Christ ought to be the supreme judge of doctrine and

discipline.¹ Gladly he would have persuaded himself that this usurpation was only a modern and accidental principle of political power, but his friend Hope, with a lawyer's authority, declared that "there was nothing new" in the Gorham appeal any more than in the Hampden case; that since the Reformation the supreme jurisdiction in religious causes had always remained with the Crown, and that it was impossible not to read Erastianism in the history of the Church of England since the Reformation.²

But it was especially to his confidential friend, Robert Wilberforce, that Manning revealed his anxiety.³ He acknowledged from the first that the Hampden Confirmation and the Gorham appeal showed him that the Church of England, supposing it to continue *in esse* a member of the visible Church, was in a position in which it was not safe to stay. A few days later he adds:

"The more I go into this appeal the less I can reconcile it with the Divine Confession of the Church. This moves me. It turns a point of faith into a point of conscience and of action, and brings out long and secret thoughts in a critical and urgent way."

Then having strongly condemned Protestantism, he declares that Anglicanism is only a more polished and ornamental branch of Protestantism.

"I cannot say I reject it, but I know it no more. I simply do not believe it. . . . Our articles and formularies so far as they contain the Catholic tradition I understand. But beyond that I feel to have no certainty, sometimes no perception, of their meaning. I do not rest upon them; they are no rule to me."

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 209.

² *Life of Manning*, by Purcell, vol. i., pp. 524, 527.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 515-518, 537-559.

In his eyes Anglicanism is but a "ruin," and by times he sees the haven towards which he is going—Rome, centre of the Church, one, holy, visible, and infallible.

He makes no secret, however, of the bitterness of his thoughts; how his affections are torn and divided between his love for his old Church and the truth that beckons to him. In the agony of this crisis he was tempted to be nothing but a "pure mystic," seeing in "God only a spirit without a visible kingdom, and a Church without sacraments." At any rate, he said, nothing would make him return to Protestantism, Anglican or otherwise.

That souls seeking to be fortified still applied to Manning for advice greatly added to his perplexity. "Each day," he said, "I receive letters to which I know not how to reply." For instance, being questioned by Mr. Allies upon theological objections against Anglicanism, he acknowledges that his correspondent is far better informed upon these subjects than he could possibly be.

"My life, as you know," he wrote, "has been active to excess, and you would hardly believe how little has been my time for reading. This makes me thoroughly mistrust myself; and the heavier the crisis and its consequences, the more I turn to others to review and test my conclusions or opinions."¹

He constantly referred to the fact that nothing was to be done in a hurry. On June 15, 1850, he wrote to Robert Wilberforce: "No; God helping me, I will do nothing in heat or in haste. So long as I find those that are dear to me, as you are, united in holding to the principles of faith, and prepared, if need be, at last, without fail, to follow them in their fulness, I am able to wait

¹ *A Life's Decision*, by Allies, p. 280.

in peace." Whether this attitude reassured the faithful Anglicans is not known; but to Maskell, Allies, and Dodsworth it was a matter of urgency. They pressed Manning to come to the point; but finding him always much perplexed, their thoughts naturally reverted to Newman and his embarrassing position towards Pusey and Keble before his conversion.

It was no matter of surprise that those who were attached to Anglicanism were disquieted by the wavering of so many of its adherents. The Bishop of London made allusion to this fact in many of his public utterances. He made use of the crisis through which the Church was passing as an argument to induce his flock to remain faithful.¹

They sought laboriously to find in the history or ordinances of the Church any idea of a "tempered"² royal supremacy which would harmonize with the Establishment of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth without violating too forcibly the independence of the Church.³

Pusey above all was anxious and fearful about those of his friends who showed a preference for Rome. His duty lay not only in saving his Church from irreparable desertions in preserving his own party intact from what appeared to be an inevitable break up in the eyes of other Anglicans. All that he did at this time, whether by public or private manifestations, was inspired, as he wrote to Keble, by his desire "to abate somewhat the fears of those

¹ *Memoirs of Bishop Blomfield*, vol. ii., pp. 134-138.

² *Letters of J. B. Mozley*, p. 203.

³ Article by Church in the *Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1850. Gladstone's pamphlet, *Remarks on the Royal Supremacy as it is defined by Reason, History, and the Constitution*. A letter to the Lord Bishop of London.

so seriously upset."¹ If he entered into the protestations against the decisions of the Privy Council, it was with the intention of satisfying the enthusiasts and preventing extreme measures. He was particularly concerned that no conclusion should be drawn from these protestations against the character of his Church. This was the reason for the statement he published in reply to Mr. Maskell upon the "Royal Supremacy." In this pamphlet he proclaims, with no little embarrassment, that the royal supremacy, understood in a certain sense, was not contrary to the teaching of the primitive Church. Its aim was not to make the State a judge in matters of doctrine, but only to protect individuals against temporal prejudice which might be caused by ecclesiastical courts. It was doubtful whether these subtleties could satisfy even himself.

However, he was more in his element when he tried to reawaken in others something of that tenderness and filial confidence which blinded him to the vices of his Church. The end of all his writings and discourses was to await patiently the day that would solve the difficulties before which he felt powerless for the time being.

Keble also recommended patience. Certainly he blamed those who flattered themselves that all was right; but he blamed those also who lost patience and precipitated themselves into thinking it their duty to make the worst of everything. He addressed these later on at a meeting, reminding them that the primitive Church had consented to wait fifty-six years—from the Council of Nice to that of Constantinople—to see the end of troubles that had arisen upon a primary point of doctrine. He was amazed

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 239.

that in these days some enthusiasts deemed it too long to wait from 1851 to 1852 for the solution of present difficulties. Then he exclaimed, with great emotion, that the whole atmosphere of England seemed to resound with the voices of the living and the dead, particularly of the holy dead, who seemed to say to them: "Stay here! do not think of leaving; do your work here."

Coming from men so much respected, this counsel produced the desired effect. One of Pusey's friends wrote to him at this time that the safest reply to give to such harassing questions which troubled everyone was to be patient as Pusey, Keble, Williams, and many others were content to be. However, the reply did not satisfy everyone. Manning, far from being convinced upon the royal supremacy by Pusey's explanations, was much grieved and slightly scandalized. Dodsworth wrote on his own account to Manning that their late discussions had quite convinced him that if they meant to be faithful to the Lord's truth, they must break with Pusey and Keble.

He published on May 7, 1850, a letter in which he defied Pusey, and accused him of procrastination and compromise with heresy; of having greatly contributed to the revival of the *sacramental* system in the Church, and then, when a solemn opportunity had occurred of affirming and strengthening the keystone of that system, of having appeared to draw back.

Shortly after, Dodsworth, supported by Maskell and Mr. Allies, wrote another letter. Passing from the question of supremacy to that of jurisdiction, Pusey was questioned by the indiscrete trio as to the Bishop or superior authority from whom he held his license of hearing Confessions and giving Absolution throughout England. They then asked,

as they said, with repugnance and sorrow, if most of the people who had received Absolution were not still bound by the fetters of sin.

Pusey was much moved by these criticisms. Not only was he pained because they came from old friends, but he was perplexed how to reply. He realized also the part that those would take who reproached him for introducing Roman practices into Anglicanism. He felt much like a culprit betrayed by his accomplices. Keble was much affected by the blow struck at his friend. The conduct of the three signatories appeared inexplicable, unless they intended to "thrust a dagger into the heart of the Church through the breast of Pusey." He assured Pusey that he was of one mind with him. "I feel," he wrote, "as if I were on the same boat with you." Although much embarrassed, Pusey attempted to explain the question of jurisdiction upon Confession. His theory was that the Anglican Church was accustomed to allow full liberty to her children, and granted to every priest the right to exercise in all places the "power of the keys." And, moreover, as to what personally concerned himself, he reminded them that the University of Oxford had always been exempt from Episcopal jurisdiction, without adding, however, that formerly this exemption placed them immediately under Papal authority. He ended by informing his opponents that their criticism would only profit those who had no wish for any sort of confession.

II

These conscientious difficulties of Anglicans were followed by Catholics with hopeful solicitude. They saw how events were working in their favour and that a new

harvest was ripening for their Church. The time was past when they refused to look at the progress of Anglo-Catholicism and thought no good could come of it. The conversion of Newman and his companions enlightened and reassured them. It was not only at Rome that interest was felt for what passed in England. In 1849, when Mr. Allies was received in audience by Pius IX., the Pope took the opportunity of saying with what satisfaction he saw men seek so ardently for the truth.¹

As the Gorham case increased in gravity the Catholics grew more concerned and interested. In the *Dublin Review* Monsignor Wiseman pointed out the bearings of this controversy; and whilst refraining from treating harshly the supporters of High Church ideas he nevertheless exposed their inconsistency and helplessness.² He waited events with such anxiety that on the day of the decision of the Privy Council he was to be found with the crowd outside the court. A few days later, on March 17, 1850, when preaching in the pro-Cathedral, he notified the position in which the Anglican Church would be placed by this decision, recalling what formerly happened when the civil power encroached on matters of faith, and warning the Anglicans that the only way to save their spiritual independence was to return to the Catholic faith from which they had wrongly separated."³

But better things were in prospect, another voice was to be heard that would penetrate deeper than any other into the hearts of Anglicans wavering in the faith. It was that of Newman. He could not see the distress and

¹ *A Life's Decision*, by Allies, pp. 202, 203.

² *Dublin Review*, March, 1850.

³ *Life of Wiseman*, vol. i., pp. 519, 520.

troubles of his old friends without offering a helping-hand. He decided, therefore, in the spring of 1850, to leave his beloved retreat at Birmingham and deliver in the Oratory in London a series of twelve sermons upon "Certain difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic teaching." But to whom were they addressed? Certainly not, he said, to Catholics; much less to sceptics, or even to the Protestant Anglicans; but to the party of Anglicans most imbued with Catholic tendencies; to his old friends of the Oxford Movement, who were uncertain as to the conclusions to be drawn.

"I am not addressing those who have no doubt whatever about the Divine origin of the Established Church. I am not attempting to rouse, or, as some would call it, unsettle them. If there be such—for, to tell the truth, I almost doubt their existence—I pass them by. I am contemplating that not inconsiderable number who are, in a true sense, though in various degrees, and in various modes, inquirers; who, on the one hand, have no doubt at all of the great Apostolical principles which are stamped upon the face of the early Church, and were the life of the movement of 1833; and who, on the other hand, have certain doubts about those principles being the property and the life of the National Church—who have fears, grave anxieties or vague misgivings, as the case may be, lest that communion be not a treasure-house and fount of grace—and then all at once are afraid again, that, after all, perhaps it *is*, and that it is their own fault that they are blind to the fact, and that it is undutifulness in them to question it."¹

He loves the troubled souls, feels for them, and wishes to save them.

"My dear brethren, there is but one thing that forces me to speak, and it is my intimate sense that the Catholic

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, by Newman, Lecture VI., p. 165.

Church is the one ark of salvation, and my love for your souls; it is my fear lest you ought to submit yourselves to her, and do not; my fear lest I may perchance be able to persuade you, and not use my talent. It will be a miserable thing for you and for me, if I had been instrumental in bringing you but half-way, if I have co-operated in removing your invincible ignorance, but am able to do no more. It is this keen feeling that my life is wearing away, which overcomes the lassitude which possesses me, and scatters the excuses which I might plausibly urge to myself for not meddling with what I have left for ever, which subdues a recollection of past times and which makes me do my best, with whatever success, to bring you to land from off your wreck, who have thrown yourselves from it upon the waves, or are clinging to its rigging, or are sitting in heaviness and despair upon its side."¹

The unusual position of the orator and of his congregation distinguishes these lectures from any ordinary sermons. They contained no abstract generalizations or commonplace allusions with no connection whatever between the preacher and those to whom he was speaking. On the contrary, his words could only come from Newman to the men of the Movement; they were a colloquy between the master and his former disciples, whom he now strove to bring back. He speaks to them of themselves, their state of soul, of their past evolutions, of their present sufferings, as one who penetrates the very depth of their thoughts. He knew where to strike, what cord to touch, and what delicate handling such aching consciences required. Often in speaking of them he was really speaking of himself—he had passed through the same crises as they were passing through; the "difficulties" that he helped them to overcome were exactly

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture I., p. 4.

those that had beset him. His analysis was all the more earnest and penetrating. Moreover, whatever repugnance he might feel in exposing the secrets of his soul, the logic of his subject demanded it; it served, as it were, as a prelude to the admirable *Apologia* which, at a much later period, he decided to write. In his own defence he says:

“And now, my dear brethren, what fit excuse can I make to you for the many words I have used about myself? This alone I can say, that it was the apprehension, or rather the certainty that this would be the case, which, among other reasons, made me as unwilling as I was to begin this course of lectures at all. I foresaw that I could not address you on the subjects which I proposed, without introducing myself into the discussion; I could not refer to the past without alluding to matters in which I had a part; could not show that interest in your state of mind and course of thought which I really feel, without showing that I therefore understood it, because I had before now experienced it myself; and I anticipated, what I fear has been the case, that in putting before you the events of former years, and the motives of past transactions and the operation of common principles, and the complexion of old habits and opinions, I should be in no slight degree constructing, what I have ever avoided, a defence of myself.”¹

The interest that these lectures excited can be gathered by these passages, not only on account of the accomplished style that characterizes all Newman's works, but for the strong, deep, and clever arguments that they contain; above all for the realistic representation of the crisis, through which many souls were passing in the Anglican Church. These considerations merit some attention from an historian.

In the first lecture Newman declares that his intention

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture XII., p. 396.

was to encourage his audience to quit the Anglican Church. It was not that he wished to treat "harshly with Anglicanism"; on the contrary, he declares that he has retained a pleasant remembrance of past years. Neither did he deny that on some points this Church might be "the natural though secret ally of the Catholic Church"; that it had preserved in evil days the form, the rites, and, in some sense, the creed of Catholicity; that it had during the last three centuries restrained the extravagance, or weakened the virulence, of Protestantism. But if he admits that it is a duty not to be forward in destroying religious institutions, even though not Catholic, when we cannot replace them by what is better, to shrink from saving souls for fear of injuring such institutions would be worldly wisdom, treachery to Christ, and cruelty to those whom He had redeemed. Therefore, he does not hesitate openly to say the truth about the established Church and to dispel illusions concerning it. He shows in this respect a remarkable vigour, and rarely have the defects of Anglicanism been so strongly and sharply denounced:

"If, indeed, we dress it up in an ideal form, as if it were something real, with an independent and a continuous existence, and a proper history, as if it were in deed and not only in name a Church—then, indeed, we may feel interest in it, and reverence towards it, and affection for it, as men have fallen in love with pictures, or knights in romance do battle for high dames whom they have never seen. Thus it is that students of the Fathers, antiquaries and poets, begin by assuming that the body to which they belong is that of which they read in times past, and then proceed to decorate it with that majesty and beauty of which history tells, or which their genius creates. Nor is it by an easy process or a light effort that their minds

are disabused of this error. It is an error for many reasons too dear to them to be readily relinquished. But at length, either the force of circumstances or some unexpected accident dissipates it; and, as in fairy tales, the magic castle vanishes when the spell is broken, and nothing is seen but the wild heath, the barren rock, and the forlorn sheep-walk, so is it with us as regards the Church of England, when we look in amazement on that we thought so unearthly, and find so commonplace or worthless. Then we perceive, that aforetime we have not been guided by reason, but biassed by education and swayed by affection. We see in the English Church, I will not merely say no descent from the first ages, and no relationship to the Church in other lands, but we see no body politic of any kind; we see nothing more or less than an establishment, a department, of Government, or a function or operation of the State—without a substance—a mere collection of officials depending on and living in the supreme civil power. Its unity and personality are gone, and with them its power of exciting feelings of any kind. It is easier to love or hate an abstraction than so commonplace a frame-work or mechanism. We regard it neither with anger, nor with aversion, nor with contempt, any more than with respect or interest. It is but one aspect of the State, or mode of civil governance; it is responsible for nothing; it can appropriate neither praise nor blame; but whatever feeling it raises is to be referred on, by the nature of the case, to the Supreme Power whom it represents, and whose will is its breath. And hence it has no real identity of existence in distinct periods, unless the present Legislature or the present Court can affect to be the offspring and disciple of its predecessor. Nor can it in consequence be said to have any antecedents, or any future; or to live, except in the passing moment. As a thing without a soul, it does not contemplate itself, define its intrinsic constitution, or ascertain its position. It has no traditions; it cannot be said to think; it does not know what it holds, and what it does not; it is not even conscious of its own existence. It has no love for its members, or what are sometimes called its children, nor any instinct whatever, unless attachment to its master,

or love of its place, may be so-called. Its fruits, as far as they are good, are to be made much of, as long as they last, for they are transient, and without succession; its former champions of orthodoxy are no earnest of orthodoxy now; they died, and there was no reason why they should be reproduced. Bishop is not like Bishop, more than King is like King, or ministry like ministry; its Prayer-Book is an Act of Parliament of two centuries ago, and its cathedrals and its chapter-houses are the spoils of Catholicism."¹

Newman continued his terrible indictment. He drew his arguments from all that happened during the Oxford Movement and that had occurred since during the Gorham appeal. He pointed out the fact that the formulas of the Anglican Church, being the expression of the nation's will, forcibly maintained the Protestant influence which governed the nation; how "it must hide its Catholic aspirations in folios, or in college cloisters;" how those who attempted to rely on a passage in the Prayer-Book on the tradition of the Fathers, in order to make a new spirit prevail, were stopped by the words: "La Reine le veut."

"The English people," he said, "is sufficient for itself; it wills to be Protestant and progressive; and Fathers, Councils, schoolmen, Scriptures, Saints, Angels, and what is above them, must give way. What are they to it? It thinks, acts, and is contented, according to its own practical, intelligible, shallow religion; and of that religion its Bishops and its divines, will they or will they not, must be exponents."

In this way the Privy Council obliged the Church to sacrifice the doctrine of Baptism; the same might be said of the other articles of the Creed, for the Trinity, and for eternal punishment.

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture I., pp. 5-8.

In the following lectures, between the second and the seventh, Newman treats directly of what he styles "the Movement of 1833." His words were addressed to those who remained faithful to the teachings of the Movement. Viewing it, therefore, from various standpoints, in its origin, and in its tendencies, he proves that far from having any such affinity to the established Church, as it was thought by some to possess, it was absolutely opposed to it. What was, in fact, in his estimation, the principle idea of the Movement? It was the care for the independence of the Church, the struggle against Erastianism, or, in other words, against the royal supremacy. All spiritual progress sought by Anglo-Catholicism rested upon this independence—the maintenance of dogma, the restoration of the Sacraments, the search for religious perfection. All that had passed in the Gorham appeal only showed more strongly that Erastianism was essential to the national Church, and that the suppression of the one would be the destruction of the other. Another proof is the irreducible antagonism of the Establishment, and the Movement was the reception given by the heads of one party to those of the other. Newman, who had undergone so much, recalls with bitter irony the valiant part taken by the Bishops, who were usually so timid, against the poor Tractarians:

"The authorities in question gladly availed themselves of the power conferred on them by the Movement against the Movement itself. They fearlessly handselled their Apostolic weapons upon the Apostolical party. One after another, in long succession, they took up their song and their parable against it. It was a solemn war-dance, which they executed round victims, who by their very principles were bound hand and foot, and could only eye with disgust and perplexity this most unaccountable

Movement on the part of their holy Fathers, the representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches. It was the beginning of the end."¹

In the same order of ideas Newman pointed out to the Anglo-Catholics another criterion by which they might judge the Establishment.

"You wish to know whether the Establishment is what you began by assuming it to be—the grace-giving Church of God. If it be, you and your principles will surely find your position there and your home. When you proclaim it to be Apostolical, it will smile on you; when you kneel down and ask its blessing, it will stretch its hands over you; when you would strike at heresy, it will arm you for the fight; when you wind your dangerous way with steady tread between Sabellius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, between Pelagius and Calvin, it will follow you with anxious eyes and a beating heart; when you proclaim its relationship to Rome and Greece, it will in transport embrace you as its own dear children; you will sink happily into its arms, you will repose upon its breast, you will recognize your mother, and be at peace. If, however, on the contrary, you find that the more those great principles which you have imbibed from St. Athanasius and St. Augustine, and which have become the life and the form of your moral and intellectual being, vegetate and expand within you, the more awkward and unnatural you find your position in the Establishment, and the more difficult its explanation; if there is no lying, or standing, or sitting, or kneeling, or stooping there, in any possible attitude; if, as in the tyrant's cage, when you would rest your head, your legs are forced out between the Articles, and when you would relieve your back, your head strikes against the Prayer-Book; when, place yourselves as you will, on the right side or the left, and try to keep as still as you can, your flesh is ever being punctured and probed by the stings of Bishops, laity, and nine-tenths of the clergy buzzing about you, is it

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture V., p. 152.

not as plain as the day that the Establishment is not your place, since it is no place for your principles?"¹

Newman believed that he had proved in clear terms that the Movement in which he and his audience had taken part looked away from the Establishment and that its motto was: "Let us go hence." In another place he says that they could no more agree than Athanasius could agree with Arius. What one looks upon as light, another will consider as darkness. One or the other must perish. "Delenda est Carthago."² From this the author draws a conclusion which he points out in terms more and more positive in most of his lectures. If his audience are convinced of the truth of the Movement as he believes, they can no longer remain in the Church which casts them out.

"I think too well of you. I hope too much of you, to fancy that you can be untrue to convictions so special and so commanding. No; you are under a destiny, the destiny of truth. Truth is your master, not you the master of truth. You must go whither it leads. You can have no trust in the Establishment or its Sacraments and ordinances. You must leave it, you must secede; you must turn your back upon, you must renounce what has—not suddenly become, but has now been proved to you to have ever been—an imposture. You must take up your cross, and you must go hence."³

Among those who prided themselves upon their fidelity to the Movement, many avoided this conclusion. It was with these that Newman had now to deal. He analyzed with his accustomed penetration their state of soul, the sophisms behind which they screened their inconsistencies. Above all, he closely pressed them, using with them that

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture VI., pp. 166, 167.

² *Ibid.*, Lecture IV.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 125.

rare combination of dialectical skill, pathos, and irony, which characterized his talent. His raillery was often strangely sarcastic; but when used it was by charity and not from malice; it was to bring home to his hearers the ridiculousness of their position, but not to mortify them. He shows them at the same time the affectionate care he has for their souls. Let it be noted, for example, how he reduces to its true value the alarm caused by the words "that something atrocious is to be done by the State against the principles you profess." And what came from the alarm?

"A meeting of friends here and there, an attempt to obtain an archidiaconal meeting, some spirited remarks in two or three provincial newspapers; an article in a review, a letter to some Bishop, a protest signed respectably; suddenly the news that the anticipated blow has fallen, and *causa finita est*. A pause, and then the discovery that things are not so bad as they seemed to be, and that your Apostolical Church has come forth from the trial even stronger and more beautiful than before."¹

The audience could not be blind to the fact that this satire was directed against the history of what passed at that time in the Privy Council. On another occasion Newman sketched the portraits of those who found their consolation in saying:

"Moreover, I am doing good in my parish and in my place. The day passes as usual. Sunday comes round once a week; the bell rings, the congregation is met, and service is performed. There is the same round of parochial duties and charities; sick people to be visited, the school to be inspected. The sun shines, and the rain falls, the garden smiles, as it used to do; and can some one definite, external event have changed the position of this happy scene of

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture IV., p. 119.

which I am the centre? Is not that position a self-dependent, is it a mere relative position? What care I for the Privy Council or the Archbishop, while I can preach and catechize just as before? I have my daily service and my Saints'-day sermons, and I can tell my people about the primitive Bishops and martyrs, and about the grace of the Sacraments, and the power of the Church, how that it is Catholic, and Apostolic, and Holy, and One, as if nothing had happened; and I can say my hours, or use my edition of Roman Devotions, and observe the days of fasting, and take Confessions, if they are offered, in spite of all gain-sayers."¹

"Doubtless you may do so," replied Newman, "but do not be deluded by the thought that you are still faithful to the Movement." Then he emphatically pointed out the emptiness of certain satisfactions which only deal with the exterior and not the reality.

"It is very pleasant," he says, "to decorate your chapels, oratories, and studies now; but you cannot be doing this for ever. It is pleasant to adopt a habit or a vestment; to use your office book or your beads; when you have a God present among you; but oh! what a mockery if you have not. Thus your Church becomes not a home but a sepulchre; like those high Cathedrals, once Catholic, which you do not know what to do with, which you shut up and make monuments sacred to the memory of what has passed away."

He had not yet come to understand that the men who consider Christianity given from Heaven once and for all, who protest against private judgment, who profess to transmit only what they have received, can be the same as those who come forth into open day with their new edition of the Catholic faith, different from that held in

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture IV., p. 123.

any other body of Christians, which not half a dozen men all over the world would honour with their imprimatur.

“You are a body of yesterday; you are a drop in the ocean of professing Christians; yet you would give the law to priest and prophet. . . . You have a mission to teach the National Church, which is to teach the British Empire, which is to teach the world; you are more learned than Greece; you are purer than Rome; you know more than St. Bernard; you judge how far St. Thomas was right, and where he is to be read with caution, or held up to blame. You can bring to light juster views of grace, or of penance, or of invocation of Saints, than St. Gregory or St. Augustine. . . . This is what you can do; yes, and when you have done all, to what have you attained? To do just what heretics have done before you, and, as doing, have incurred the anathema of Holy Church. . . . You do not follow its Bishops; you disown its existing traditions; you are discontented with its divines; you protest against its lay courts; you shrink from its laity; you outstrip its Prayer-Book. You have in all respects an eclectic or an original religion of your own. You dare not stand or fall by Andrewes, or by Laud, or by Hammond, or by Bull, or by Thorndike, or by all of them together. . . . Nearly all your divines, if not all, call themselves Protestants, and you anathematize the name. Who makes the concessions to Catholics which you do, yet remains separate from them? Who, among Anglican authorities, would speak of Penance as a Sacrament, as you do? Who of them encourages, much less insists upon, auricular Confession, as you? or makes fasting an obligation? or uses the crucifix and the rosary? or reserves the consecrated bread? or believes in miracles as existing in your Communion? or administers, as I believe you do, Extreme Unction? In some points you prefer Rome, in others Greece, in others England, in others Scotland; and of that preference your own private judgment is the ultimate sanction. What am I to say in answer to conduct so preposterous? Say you go by any authority whatever, and I shall know where to find you, and I shall respect you. . . . But do not come to

me with the latest fashion of opinion which the world has seen, and protest to me that it is the oldest. Do not come to me at this time of day with views palpably new, isolated, original, *sui generis*, warranted old neither by Christian nor unbeliever, and challenge me to answer what I really have not the patience to read. Life is not long enough for such trifles. Go elsewhere, not to me, if you wish to make a proselyte. Your inconsistency, my dear brethren, is on your very front. Nor pretend that you are but executing the sacred duty of defending your own Communion: your Church does not thank you for a defence, which she has no dream of appropriating. You innovate on her professions of doctrine, and then you bid us love her for your innovations. You cling to her for what she denounces; and you almost anathematize us for taking a step which you would please her best by taking also."¹

Newman continues in this tone and concludes by saying:

"Surely I am not exaggerating. Can a party formed on such principles in any sense be called a genuine continuation of the Apostolical party of twenty years ago? The basis of that party was the professed abnegation of private judgment; your basis is the professed exercise of it."²

It was not possible, therefore, for the men of the Movement, if they wished to be faithful to their principles, to remain in the Anglican Church. But where could they go? Newman warned them against seeking a solution by joining a "Branch Church," utterly incapable of resisting the intrusions of the State.

"I have brought you by a short, but I hope not an abrupt path, to the conclusion that you must cease to be an Anglican by becoming a Catholic. Indeed, if the

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture V., pp. 157, 158, 160, 161.

² *Ibid.*, Lectures V. and VI.

Movement, of which you are the children, had any providential scope at all, I do not see how you can disguise from yourselves that Catholicism is it."¹

At this point Newman attacked those prejudices that prevent some from entering the Church who are already on its threshold; the five last lectures treat of this subject. He did not ignore the weight of these prejudices among his compatriots. "It is not the work of a day to convince the intellect of an Englishman that Catholicism is true."² He examines in the first place the objection so dear to English pride, the past state of Catholic countries; this was the occasion for an eloquent invective against the bitter and proud pharisaism prevalent among his countrymen, "the worship of comfort" and "the oligarchical monopoly of enjoyment."

"Keep your theories to yourself, do not inflict them upon the sons of Adam everywhere; do not measure heaven and earth by views which are in a great degree insular, and never can be philosophical and Catholic."³

He then discourses on the prejudices arising from particular forms of religion in different Catholic countries, the divisions among Catholics, the great number of heretics and schismatics, the supposed disagreement between the actual Church and the primitive Church. This declaration is mingled with appeals full of affection, and of pathetic adjurations. Irony finds no place. Newman seems rather to excuse himself for making use of it in other places.

"Others have scoffed at you, but I never; others may have made light of your principles, or your sincerity, but

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lectures V. and VI.

² *Ibid.*, Lecture XII.

³ *Ibid.*, Lecture VIII.

never I; others may have predicted evil of you, I have only felt vexed at the prediction. I have laughed, indeed I have scorned, and scorn and laugh I must, when men set up an outside instead of the inside of religion—when they affect more than they can sustain—when they indulge in pomp or in minutiae, which only then are becoming when there is something to be proud of, something to be anxious for. If I have been excessive here, if I have confused what is defective with what is hollow, or have mistaken aspiration for pretence, or have been severe upon infirmities of which self-knowledge would have made me tender, I wish it otherwise. Still, whatever my faults in this matter, I have ever been trustful in that true Catholic spirit which has lived in the movement of which you are partakers. I have been steady in my confidence in that supernatural influence among you, which made me what I am—which, in its good time, shall make you what you shall be. You are born to be Catholics; refuse not the unmerited grace of your bountiful God; throw off for good and all the illusions of your intellect, the bondage of your affections, and stand upright in that freedom which is your true inheritance.”¹

And again elsewhere:

“You cannot be as others: they pursue their own way, they walk over this wide earth, and see nothing wonderful or glorious in the sun, moon, and stars of the spiritual heavens; or they have an intellectual sense of their beauty, but no feeling of duty or of love towards them; or they wish to love them, but think they ought not, lest they should get a distaste for that mire and foulness which is their present portion. They have not yet had the call to inquire, and to seek, and to pray for further guidance, infused into their hearts by the gracious Spirit of God; and they will be judged according to what is given them, not by what is not. But on you the thought has dawned, that possibly Catholicism may be true; you have doubted the safety of your present position, and the present pardon of your sins, and the completeness of your present faith.

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture XII., pp. 397, 398.

You, by means of that very system in which you find yourselves, have been led to doubt that system. . . . You set out in simplicity and earnestness intending to serve it, and your very serving taught you to serve another. You began to use its prayers and act upon its rules, and they did but witness against it, and made you love it, not more but less, and carried off your affections to one whom you had not loved. The more you gazed upon your own Communion the more unlike it you grew; the more you tried to be good Anglicans, the more you found yourselves drawn in heart and spirit to the Catholic Church. It was the destiny of the false prophetess that she could not keep the little ones who devoted themselves to her; and the more simply they gave up their private judgment to her, the more sure they were of being thrown off by her, against their will, into the current of attraction which led straight to the true Mother of their souls. So month has gone after month, and year after year; and you have again and again vowed obedience to your own Church, and you have protested against those who left her, and you have thought you found in them what you liked not, and you have prophesied evil about them and good about yourselves; and your plans seemed prospering and your influence extending, and great things were to be; and yet, strange to say, at the end of the time you have found yourselves steadily advanced in the direction which you feared, and never were nearer to the promised land than you are now.

"Oh, look well to your footing that you slip not; be very much afraid lest the world should detain you; dare not in anything to fall short of God's grace, or to lag behind when that grace goes forward. Walk with it, co-operate with it, and I know how it will end. You are not the first persons who have trodden that path; yet a little time, and, please God, the bitter shall be sweet, and the sweet bitter; and you will have undergone the agony, and will be lodged safely in the true home of your souls and the valley of peace. Yet but a little while, and you will look out from your resting-place upon the wanderers outside; and will wonder why they do not see that way which is now so plain to you, and will be impatient with them

that they do not come on faster. And, whereas you now are so perplexed in mind that you seem to yourselves to believe nothing, then you will be so full of faith, that you will almost see invisible mysteries, and will touch the threshold of eternity. And you will be so full of joy that you will wish all around you to be partakers of it, as if for your own relief; and you will suddenly be filled with yearnings deep and passionate, for the salvation of those dear friends whom you have out-stripped; and you will not mind their coolness, or stiffness, or distance, or constrained gravity, for the love you bear to their souls. And, though *they* will not hear you, you will address yourselves to those who will; I mean, you will weary Heaven with your novenas for them, and you will be ever getting Masses for their conversion, and you will go to Communion for them, and you will not rest till the bright morning comes, and they are yours once again. Oh, is it possible that there is a resurrection even upon earth? O wonderful grace, that there should be a joyful meeting, after parting, before we get to Heaven! It was a weary time, that long suspense, when with aching hearts we stood on the brink of a change, and it was like death both to witness and to undergo, when first one and then another disappeared from the eyes of their fellows. And then friends stood on different sides of a gulf, and for years knew nothing of each other what was not, and there were misunderstandings and jealousies; and each saw the other, as if his ghost, only in imagination, and in memory; and all was sickness and anxiety, and hope delayed, and ill-requited care. But now it is all over; the morning is come; the severed shall unite. I see them as if in sight of me. Look at us, my brethren, from our glorious land; look on us radiant with the light cast upon us by the Saints and Angels who stand over us; gaze on us as you approach, and kindle as you gaze. We died, you thought us dead; we live; we cannot return to you, you must come to us—and you are coming. Do not your hearts beat as you approach us? Do you not long for the hour which makes us one? Do not tears come into your eyes at the thought of the superabundant mercy of your God?"¹

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, Lecture XI., pp. 358-362.

Such is the enthusiasm and emotion of the Orator, at the sight of so glorious a vision, that ordinary language no longer suffices, he borrows Scriptural expressions and images by which he ends his discourse in triumphal thanksgiving.

The effect of these Lectures was considerable. Among the audience, largely Anglican, that assembled in the Oratory, were eminent politicians, lawyers, and writers, among whom were Dickens and Thackeray. All appreciated the rare talent of the Orator. Hope declared that he had never heard anything more perfect, and that the same opinion was held by those who were the least favourably disposed.¹

People never ceased to talk of this "inimitable voice"² of which it was said by one of the audience: "Never was any voice more suited for persuasion without irritation."³ The publication of the Lectures confirmed this opinion throughout the country. It was more than mere admiration, the hearts of many were deeply moved. In some cases salutary doubts arose, the decisive light came which was sooner or later to produce conversion.⁴ Even those who were not disposed to leave their Church learnt to take the arguments in favour of Rome more seriously. From these Lectures can be dated a considerable change in English opinions concerning Catholicism.

III

It was not long before Newman's hopes began to be realized. Conversions to Catholicism had not ceased

¹ *Memorials of Sergeant Bellasis*, p. 99.

² *Life of Philipps de Lisle*, by Purcell, vol. i., p. 320.

³ *Cardinal Newman*, by Hutton, pp. 207, 208.

⁴ *Memorials of Sergeant Bellasis*, p. 99; *Some Sidelights on the Oxford Movement*, by Minima Parspartis, p. 106.

since 1845, but their numbers had been less between the close of 1846 and 1850. The latter part of 1850 saw once more the current directed towards Rome, almost as strongly as it had been five years previously. Conversions followed in rapid succession, several notable clergymen made no hesitation in sacrificing their position to their convictions. Mr. Maskell was among the leaders, his decision had been foreshadowed by his part in the controversy, but he did not give effect to it without cost. As soon as he had announced to his parishioners from the pulpit his intention of quitting them, he wrote to Manning: "My first step is over—a bitter and painful one—more bitter in the doing than in the anticipation."¹

Henry Wilberforce went to Belgium, where he abjured, with his wife, in 1850. At this news Mr. Dodsworth could no longer refrain. He wrote to Manning on August 17: "The more I think, the more I feel that our position is an impossible one"—"the moment has come to act."² And shortly after he also made his submission to Rome.

Mr. Allies had seen his wife go in advance of him, as she made her abjuration in May. He pondered some time longer on the point of supremacy, continuing his correspondence with his Anglican friends as also with Newman and Wiseman. At length, having no more doubt on what he styles "the dishonesty and unreality of Anglicanism as an ecclesiastical system," on September 8 he bid farewell to his parishioners, and made his abjuration three days later to Newman.³

Many others followed his example, clergymen, like

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 551.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 563, 564.

³ *A Life's Decision*, by Allies, *passim*.

Laprimaudaye, Manning's curate, and well-known laymen like Lord Feilding (the eldest son of Lord Denbigh), Mr. Monsell (the future Lord Emsley), and Mr. Bellasis.

These secessions naturally caused great commotion in the Anglican world. Whilst the liberal and Evangelical party saw the justification of the suspicion in which they held the Roman tendencies of the Movement, and took the opportunity of renewing their former attacks against the Tractarians, the High Church party, feeling much embarrassed by their apparent complicity with the recent converts, sought means to extricate themselves. Some among them proposed to add to the protestations against the Privy Council a declaration rejecting all proposals for reconciliation and association with the Roman Church until its thorough reformation.

Pusey's attitude, in these circumstances, was noteworthy. He was under no illusion as to the gravity of the danger that was overhanging his Church in this "crisis," which he called "awful." Neither did he ignore the suspicion in which he was held; the conduct of Dodsworth and his friends only augmented its intensity. He wrote to Keble on September 23 that he felt that all his actions and words were watched and scrutinized by his foes. But he absolutely refused to free himself from this bondage by a declaration against Romanism, and he persuaded his friends to give up any such ideas, being convinced that it would only aggravate the crisis and force the undecided to leave. He was not troubled by the fact of being at variance with Keble, who seemed for a time to favour the declaration. He did not wish, he said, that the basis of union among the defenders of Anglicanism should be antagonism to Rome. To those who,

for this reason,¹ doubted his good faith, he replied, with sorrowful pride, at a Church Union meeting.²

Manning, in his then state of mind, was much affected by the conversion of so many of his friends. Looked up to by them as a sort of authority he was the witness of their combats and final determination. He heard their call, and saw the disappointment and sorrow caused by his own hesitations and delays.³

And yet what hope had he in Anglicanism? He had seen the failure of all attempts made to disengage it from the heresy and political servitude by which it was branded as a consequence of the Gorham case.

He made a last effort with Robert Wilberforce and Dr. Mill, Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, to offer for signature to the members of the clergy, a declaration limiting the sense in which the supremacy of the Crown was to be understood; but this effort failed before the indifference of his colleagues, and only about 1,800 signatures could be obtained from 20,000 members of the clergy. All this only tended to increase his doubt and trouble.

His confidential letters to Robert Wilberforce show his increased conviction that the Church of England was in a state of schism, and that the late events had not "changed our position but revealed it, and that they who see it are bound to submit themselves to the universal Church." Further, he declares, "that he has no hope in the Church of England."—"I not only believe that nothing will be done, but that nothing can. The fault

¹ *Life of Pusey*, vol. iii., p. 279.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 273-286.

³ See letters of Maskell, Allies, Dodsworth, Bellasis (*Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 559, 563, 595).

seems to me to be in the original position.”—"I do not feel what you say of condemning a Church which has such men as Keble in it. I must condemn it, whosoever be in it." It was precisely at this time that he had held a conversation with Keble. "I fear," he said, "we differ in this. I might feel myself bound to submit to the Roman Church; you would not."—"I could not," replied Keble. "I could not say my prayers there."

Influenced by his ever-increasing conviction of the vice of his Church, Manning reflected whether the hour had not really come to decide. He acknowledges that the "sincerity" of his position was questionable.

"We are in material heresy," he says, "and that throws light on our separation, and, I believe, we are in schism. With this feeling, growing daily with a conscious variance of reason, faith, and conscience, against the Royal Supremacy as in our oath and subscription, and against the anti-Roman articles, I feel driven to believe that I can delay no longer without violation of truth towards God and man. . . . I am full of dread lest the truth of conscience should be lost by waiting and listening to the suggestions of flesh and blood."¹

However reserved he might be to those who lived with him, the state of his soul was apparent. Bishop Wilberforce wrote to Gladstone on September 14, 1850, after a visit to his brother-in-law:

"My stay at Lavington has let me see much of Manning. Never has he been so affectionate, so open, so fully trusting with me. We have been together through all his difficulties. But alas! he has left on my mind the full conviction that he is lost to us."²

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 560-565.

² *Ibid.*, p. 568.

Up to this time Gladstone had no doubt as to the crisis through which his friend was passing, but he could not willingly resign one whom he called the "pearl" of the clergy.¹ He felt obliged to retain him, and for this purpose wrote long letters in which he discusses and fights against the religious difficulties in which Manning believed himself to be involved.

Between these various appeals Manning's conscience was pulled and torn. He judged it his duty to inform his Anglican friends once for all that he avoided all "precipitation." It was not that he doubted the final issue; but as he said, "Six months would very soon be passed in such an agony."

He thought of going abroad for the winter "as a means of withdrawing from conflict and from embarrassing others. It would give me time for the last reflections and dying thoughts and a *locus penitentiae* if, 'which God avert,' I be deluded."² Would Manning continue long in this shuffling where no advance could be made? No, God's time had come. An exterior circumstance was to hasten the deed.

IV

Since the Reformation the English Catholics had been ruled as if they were under a mission, being governed by Vicars-Apostolic—four in the first instance, eight later on. Such a system was suited to a period of oppression when priests could only be educated abroad, when there was no real parochial organization, and the private chapels of the noblemen served by their chaplains were for the most part the only places of worship. But the revival of

¹ *Life of Lady Georgina Fullerton*, by Mrs. Craven, p. 201.

² *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 569-575.

Catholicity, the outcome of the Emancipation in 1828, together with Wiseman's policy, and the conversion of Newman and his companions put an end to this system. The need was felt of a regular Episcopal hierarchy. Wiseman was deputed by the Vicars-Apostolic in 1847 to represent this wish to the Holy See.¹ The conferences, interrupted by the political troubles that beset Rome at this time, were successfully resumed in 1848 by Monsignor Ullathorne, Vicar-Apostolic. The principle of the desired change seemed to be admitted, and its accomplishment was only prevented by the flight of the Pope to Gaëta.

This idea of returning to the normal system of Christian countries met with many obstacles among the old Catholics of England. The spirit of routine in which they had existed tended to prejudice them against the innovations of Wiseman; the important post which he held created jealousy which found vent in the reproach "that he was not a real Englishman." These complaints were re-echoed in Rome by Cardinal Acton. However, no opposition from the British Government was foreseen, for it had recognized similar measures being taken in the colonies. The Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, when questioned on the subject either in conversation or in Parliament, answered nearly in these terms: "What does it matter to us if you call yourselves Vicars-Apostolic, or Bishops, or Muftis, or Mandarins? Do what you like, but don't ask us." Only one condition was required, and that was to conform to the law that forbade Catholic Bishops to hold a territorial title already possessed by a Bishop of the established Church.

The negotiations delayed from 1848 to 1850 were again

¹ *Life of Wiseman*, by Ward, chaps. xvi. and xx.

renewed. The Pope had returned to Rome, and the government of the Church was again in its regular course.

Wiseman had been appointed Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, the principal vicariate in England, and he administered his office with wonderful activity and intelligence. He was in the full tide of his work when, in 1850, he received the news from Rome that the hierarchy was to be re-established, and that he was to be raised to the Cardinalate, with residence in the Eternal City. Flattered as he was by this elevation, he was broken-hearted at the thought of leaving his English apostolate to go, as he said, "to be buried for ever" in Italy.

Fortunately those who had seen his work in England foresaw the disastrous effect of his absence, and sent pressing representations to Rome. These were successful, and when Wiseman arrived in September, 1850, he found Pius IX. determined to bestow the purple upon him, and to nominate him as Metropolitan of the new hierarchy as Archbishop of Westminster, without recalling him from England.

On September 29, 1850, the Pope issued a Bull by which he re-established the regular hierarchy in England, composed of twelve Bishops and one Archbishop. On the following day in the Consistory of the thirtieth, he bestowed the Cardinal's hat upon the new Archbishop of Westminster. On October 7 Wiseman announced the great event to his flock in a pastoral letter addressed from "without the Flaminian Gate." From the Catholic atmosphere of Rome, forgetting for a moment his Protestant countrymen and all English prejudices in the joy of this resurrection, he exclaimed in a triumphant voice: "The great work, then, is completed; Catholic England

has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished." Then he alluded to the Saints of the old Saxon and Norman Church in unison with the martyrs of the last centuries, "blessing God for having once more visited his people," and declaring his happiness at the sight of the lamp of the sanctuary once again relit, and burning clear and bright. The Cardinal then started for England, full of joy and confidence, stopping on the way at various towns of Italy, Austria, and Germany.

But no sooner was the Papal decree received in London than it created an anti-Catholic uproar. The public, excited by the late controversies, regarded it as an insult, a threat to govern the whole of England in religious matters, and to substitute Catholic for Anglican Bishops. This idea was simply ridiculous, for the Pope's organization only extended to the Catholics who acknowledged his authority; the established Church remaining what it was before the decree. But reasoning is useless in the face of panic and excitement of that sort. On October 14, 1850, the *Times* published a very vehement article upon the subject :

"If this appointment be not intended as a clumsy joke, we confess that we can only regard it as one of the grossest acts of folly and impertinence which the court of Rome has ventured to commit since the Crown and the people of England threw off its yoke."

A little later the same journal says :

"Is it then here, in Westminster, among ourselves and by the English throne, that an Italian priest is to parcel out the spiritual dominion of this country—to employ the renegades of our national Church to restore a foreign

usurpation over the consciences of men and to sow division in our political society?"

It then declares that this must either be the work of a disordered brain or treason against the constitution.

In the midst of this storm the pastoral letter of the new Cardinal reached London. His Vicar General, uncertain as to the effect of this triumphal dithyramb upon the public mind, hesitated to publish it; but as he was unwilling to take so much authority upon himself,¹ the pastoral was read in the churches and reported in the papers. It was the final stroke of aggravation to the Protestants. Great emphasis was laid upon the phrase wherein Wiseman says:

"We govern and shall continue to govern the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex." The *Times* found no language too strong against the "impudence" and "absurdity" of the authors of the measure, and this fashion of dividing the country into new Bishoprics, as if the old ones were vacant or abolished, excited its indignation. It threatened Cardinal Wiseman and abused the Pope himself.

The agitation was not only confined to the Press. On November 4 the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, in answer to a protestation from the Bishop of Durham, wrote *ab irato*:

- "MY DEAR LORD,

"I agree with you in considering the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism, as 'insolent' and 'insidious,' and I therefore feel as indignant as you can do upon the subject. . . . There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from

¹ *Life of Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 541.

Rome—a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our Bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation."

The Minister relied upon the strength of Protestantism to resist this supposed subjugation to a foreign yoke; he promised, moreover, to inquire into the legal aspect of the matter as to whether any measures could be taken against this usurpation of power; but, he added, there was a danger more to be feared than any aggression from a strange Sovereign, and that was in the midst of the Anglican Church. True to a long-standing animosity he lost no opportunity of turning the wrath of public opinion against the Puseyites, of whom he wrote this diatribe:

"Clergymen of our own Church who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, step by step, to the very verge of the precipice. The honour paid to Saints, the claim for infallibility for the Church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption. . . . What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign Prince of no great power compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself?"

The Prime Minister concluded by owning that he entertained "little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations would desist from their insidious

course," but he "counted upon the mass of a nation which looked with contempt on the mummeries of superstition."

After such an example from a Minister what could be expected but open hostility? The war cry of John Russell, "the papal aggression," resounded throughout the country. People thought that the days of the Gunpowder Plot had returned. The Bishops, lately so indifferent and seemingly humble when there was a question of defending the integrity of dogma or the independence of the Church, were on this occasion all animation and excitement, hurling the old Protestant invectives against the Catholic Church, such as "sham priests," insolent ambition of the Pope, the "abominations" and "off-scouring" of Rome.

An address was drawn up to the Queen, as the head of the Church, signed by all the Bishops but two, pointing out the inexcusable insult contained in the alleged "papal aggression," and humbly beseeching her to "ward off this usurpation." The Queen declared her intention of maintaining, in union with them, the rights of her crown and the independence of her people, against all aggression and foreign usurpation. Another address from the University of Oxford presented by the Duke of Wellington acknowledged the Queen as being, after God, the supreme and only head of the kingdom in spiritual and ecclesiastical, as well as in temporal, matters. Meetings of protestation by the clergy and laity were held everywhere. The publications against "papal aggression" increased to such a degree, that as many as seventy-eight appeared between November 14 and 30.

Lord Ashley, heir to the Earl of Shaftesbury, a sincere

and enthusiastic supporter of the Evangelical party, made this entry in his journal on November 25 :

"What a surprising ferment ! It abates not a jot ; meeting after meeting in every town and parish of the country. . . . At concerts and theatres, I hear, ' God save the Queen ' is demanded three times in succession. It resembles a storm over the whole ocean ; it is a national sentiment, a rising of the land ! All opinions seem for a while merged in this one feeling."¹

The mob, so easily excited, were gathered at street corners indulging in loud and vulgar demonstrations. The effigies of the Pope and Wiseman were carried in grotesque processions and burnt amid the infuriated shouts of the populace. But the mob did not confine its attention to stuffed figures. Priests recognized in the street were insulted. Father Faber wrote to one of his friends in Rome concerning the threatening placards stuck on the walls of the Oratory in London, and told how he and his friends were hooted in the streets. Even gentlemen, he said, "call out at us from their carriage windows."² Encouraged by the example of Lord John Russell the attacks were not only directed against Catholics but also against Puseyites. Pusey was denounced by several Bishops. Meetings were held to denounce the encouragement given to the papal aggression by those in the bosom of the Church, who swerving from the Protestant faith had taught Roman doctrines, ceremonies, and practices.³

In the parish of St. Barnabas in London, known as the

¹ *Life and Works of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, by Hodder.

² *Life and Letters of Faber*, pp. 376, 377.

³ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii., p. 59.

centre of Anglo-Catholicism, the vicar, Mr. Bennett, wrote to Lord John Russell, who was his parishioner, that every Sunday the service was interrupted by these tumultuous scenes, and that Lord John himself was the cause of them.

The first indications that Wiseman had of the excitement caused by the Papal Bull in England was in Vienna, where, on October 30, he came across a copy of the *Times*. It was a "great shock," as he was not the least prepared for such news. But he had not yet thoroughly grasped his situation, and, after writing a letter of explanation to Lord John Russell, he thought he might well continue his journey by short stages.

Arriving at Bruges in the second week of November, the letters that he found awaiting him no longer admitted of any illusion. He had to face almost the whole of England, and what he learnt of the dispositions of his co-religionists was not encouraging. The old Catholics, who blamed him at the outset for being too much inclined towards Rome, and not sufficiently English, saw in the current events the confirmation of their own grievances and suspicions. Some of the more notable Catholics, among whom were Lord Beaumont and the Duke of Norfolk, went so far as to declare that "loyalty to the Queen and the Constitutions" could not allow them to accept the last edict from Rome, and that they adhered to the letter of Lord John Russell.¹

For the most part Wiseman's friends, intimidated by the tumult, thought only of keeping quiet. They advised the Cardinal to prolong his sojourn abroad and not augment the agitation.

¹ *Life of Wiseman*, vol. ii., p. 15.

Wiseman, naturally of a nervous and impressionable nature, showed on this occasion a surprising determination and self-composure. Putting aside all timid advice, he started for London, where he arrived on November 11.

There was no hesitation as to his movements. Whilst he sent reassuring messages to the Government through a friend, he deemed it indispensable to appeal to the justice and good sense of the public. In a few days he issued a pamphlet of thirty-one pages under the title *Appeal to the English People*. Its tone shows deep feeling, and is worthy of the occasion. The statement is skilful, penetrating, and dignified, dealing quietly with hostile opinion without lowering himself, rejecting one after another the accusations which misled the mob, patiently bringing to light their folly, but not without an occasional touch of sorrowful irony. He begins by recalling the unprecedented agitation created by the re-establishment of the hierarchy, the violent invectives of the Press and the malevolent partiality of the Ministers; he would not, however, admit that his cause was irremediably lost.

“When the very highest judicial authority has prejudiced and cut off all appeal from us, what resource have we left? What hope or justice? One in which, after God’s unfailing providence, we place unbounded confidence. There still remain the manly sense and honest heart of a generous people; that love of honourable dealing and fair play which, in joke or in earnest, is equally the instinct of an Englishman; that hatred of all mean advantage taken, of all base tricks and paltry clap-trap and party cries employed to hunt down even a rival or a foe. To this open-fronted, and warm-hearted tribunal I make my appeal, and claim on behalf of myself and my fellow-Catholics a fair, free, and impartial hearing.

Fellow-subjects, Englishmen, be you at least just and equitable. You have been deceived; you have been misled, both as to facts and as to intentions."

The alleged usurpation of the Pope was then discussed by the Cardinal. Doubtless the act of the Pope was a denial of the royal supremacy in spiritual matters; but this supremacy was already denied by those who were not of the established Church, the nonconformists, as much as by Catholics. To confuse this usurpation with disloyalty to the Crown would be to hinder all religious liberty.

"Believe me," he said, "at this moment the danger to the religious and civil liberties of Englishmen is not from any infringement on them by the Pope, in granting to English Catholics what I hope to show you they had full right to obtain from him, but from those who are taking advantage of the occurrence to go back a step, if they can, in the legislation of toleration. . . . To say to Catholics 'You shall have complete religious toleration, but you shall not have Bishops among you to govern you,' would have been a complete contradiction in terms; it would have amounted to a total denial of religious toleration."

The Cardinal then dealt with the accusation which, however absurdly, had taken the deepest hold on the people. It was said that each new Bishop was invested with some tangible possession, something territorial, taken from that part of the country comprised in his diocese, and that he was given an effective jurisdiction over non-Catholics to the detriment of the Anglican Bishops.

Wiseman proved that the brief was only addressed to Catholics; it did not touch the Government and the rest of the nation. In fact, in his opinion, such fears were

unfounded. What, then, could they complain of? The Cardinal adds :

“ Every official document has its proper forms, and had those who blame the tenor of these taken any pains to examine those of Papal documents they would have found nothing new or unusual in this. Whether the Pope appoints a person Vicar-Apostolic or Bishop in Ordinary, in either case he assigns him a territorial ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and gives him no personal limitations. This is the practice of every Church which believes in its own truth.”

To give his argument greater force, the Cardinal singled out the Anglican Chapter of Westminster, who feared that the new Archbishop of Westminster would lay claim to the honours and riches associated with the old Abbey. He reassured them in these words :

“ In their temporal rights or their quiet possession of any dignity or title they will not suffer. . . . There is another part of Westminster which stands in frightful contrast, though in immediate contact, with this magnificence. In ancient times the existence of an abbey on any spot, with a large staff of clergy and ample revenues, would have sufficed to create around it a little paradise of comfort, cheerfulness, and ease. This, however, is not now the case. Close under the Abbey of Westminster there lies concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts, and alleys and slums—nests of ignorance, vice, depravity, and crime, as well as squalor, wretchedness, and disease; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera; in which swarms a huge and almost countless population, in great measure, nominally at least, Catholic; haunts of filth, which no sewage committee can reach—dark corners which no lightening-board can brighten. This is the part of Westminster which alone I could and which I shall be glad to claim and to visit as a blessed pasture, in which sheep of the holy Church are to be tended, in which a Bishop's godly work has to be done of con-

soling, converting, and preserving. And if, as I humbly trust in God, it shall be seen that this special culture, arising from the establishment of the Hierarchy, bears fruit of order, peacefulness, decency, religion, and virtue, it may be that the Holy See shall not be thought to have acted unwisely when it bound up the very soul and salvation of a chief pastor with those of a city, whereof the name indeed is glorious, but the purlieus infamous; in which the very grandeur of its public edifices is as a shadow to screen from the public eye sin and misery the most appalling. If the wealth of the Abbey be stagnant and not diffusive, if it in no way rescues the neighbouring population from the depths in which it is sunk, let there be no jealousy of anyone, who, by whatever name, is ready to make the latter his care, without interfering with the former. I cannot conclude without one word on the part which the clergy of the Anglican Church have acted in the late excitement. Catholics have been their principal theological opponents, and we have carried on our controversies with them temperately, and with every personal consideration. We have had no recourse to popular arts to debase them; we have never attempted, even when the current of public feeling has set against them, to turn it to advantage, by joining in an outcry. They are not *our* members who yearly call for returns of sinecures, or Episcopal incomes; they are not our people who form anti-Church-and-State Associations; it is not our Press which sends forth caricatures of ecclesiastical dignitaries, or throws ridicule on clerical avocations. We have avoided the tumult of public assemblies, and farthing appeals to the ignorance of the multitude. But no sooner has an opportunity been given for awakening every lurking passion against us than it has been eagerly seized by the ministers of that establishment. The pulpit and the platform, the Church and the Town-hall, have been equally their form of labour; and speeches have been made and untruths uttered, and calumnies repeated, and flashing words of disdain, and anger, and hatred and contempt, and of every unpriestly, and unchristian, and unholy sentiment have been spoken . . . against those who almost alone treated them with respect."

This pamphlet, printed November 19, 1850, had considerable effect. Nearly all the leading journals, including the *Times*, published it in full. In a few days 30,000 copies were sold. Catholics once again took courage. Well-meaning persons, who had been caught up in the general excitement, began to reflect.

"The effect of the *Appeal*," says a friendly witness, "reminded me at the time of the blowing-up of the *Orient* at Aboukir. It did not indeed put an end to the battle, but it created a pause for a full week at least—a silence of attention."¹

The ability of the *Appeal* appears to have struck many. "There can be no doubt," says the *Spectator*, "of his controversial power." Another organ of public opinion calls him "The most astute and the most courteous reasoner of his time." "The Cardinal has astonished the natives." Even the *Times* relented :

"The question thus raised," it said, "is well worthy of our most attentive consideration. If we have pronounced an opinion against the Pope and the Cardinal unheard, it has not been from any wish to deny them fair play, but because they did not condescend to give us any more tangible explanation of their acts than was to be gathered from empty gasconades and pompous manifestoes—the very sweepings of a literary wardrobe now nearly worn out, and never tastefully selected. We congratulate Dr. Wiseman on his recovery of the use of the English language. If the Cardinal never intended to assume any rights, save those which are cheerfully conceded to a Wesleyan and a Baptist, why, in the name of common sense, could he not have said so?"

The letter of Lord John Russell, so much applauded at first, was now regarded in a different light. On the

¹ *Life of Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 557.

Tory side Mr. Disraeli pointed out its inconsistency. In the name of the Liberals, Mr. Roebuck showed how when all believed "that the foul demon of religious tolerance was laid for ever," the Prime Minister had himself jeopardized the grand principles of religious liberty; he continues in these avenging words:

"To you, My Lord, posterity will refer as a man who, when the real difficulties were conquered, when by the united and continuous labours of our greatest statesmen, the law had become just, and peace and good-will were about to be established, took advantage of your great position to rouse up the spirit of strife and hate among us, to quicken into active life the spirit of persecution, and to rend asunder a great Empire, which, but for your fatal interference would soon have become firmly united, peaceful, and prosperous. A melancholy distinction this, My Lord, for one who all his life has styled himself the friend of religious as well as of civil freedom. Your common sense must long since have been shocked at the wretched fanaticism which you have evoked, and which, unfortunately, you will find a spirit beyond your power to lay."

Wiseman did not rest idly on his success. He proposed a series of conferences to be given in the month of December in St. George's pro-Cathedral. Men of all denominations came in crowds. The Cardinal again exposed the groundless fears and imputations by which public opinion had been swayed; he showed how the entire mind of a nation had been worked up into a misunderstanding from which it awakened as from a dream—lowered in "self-esteem" and in the esteem of surrounding nations.

He hailed the insults offered to the new Bishops as unfailing signs of Divine favour. The Ritual, he said,

directed that flowers should be strewn on the path by which a new Bishop approached his diocese; their road, on the contrary, had been hedged with thorns and their way sown with briars. So much the better, he said, for the more deeply and broadly any work bore the impression of the cross the more surely did it come to them marked by the seal of God.

The Cardinal came out of this crisis, for a time so serious, with great increase of prestige. Both his friends and his enemies were astonished at qualities which before they had not recognized in him. "He is made for the world and he rises with the occasion. Highly as I put his gifts I was not prepared for such a display of vigour, power, judgment, sustained energy as the last two months have brought. I heard a dear friend of his say before he had got to England that the news of the opposition would kill him. How has he been out. It is the event of the time. In my own remembrance there has been nothing like it."¹

Notwithstanding the efficacy of Wiseman's policy it could not at once stop the agitation. A Bill was issued in the House of Commons inflicting a penalty of £100 on persons assuming titles to pretended sees in the United Kingdom. Logically, the Bill would have applied to Bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, but a special clause exempted them. It need not be said that this exemption offered an effective weapon to opponents of the Bill. In February, 1851, at the first reading, Mr. Gladstone and Sir Roundell Palmer, to their honour, took the side of religious liberty against those who would work into the law of the land a momentary manifestation

¹ *Life of Wiseman*, vol. i., p. 534.

of national anger. The Bill was voted by a great majority who dared not resist Protestant enthusiasm, but it was voted without spirit or even the hope that any considerable good could come out of it.

In fact, the penalties proscribed by this Bill were never put in force and, twenty years later, Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, cancelled it, amid the general indifference of the public.

V

This agitation, so violent but so fruitless, and the end of which was a dead law, had nevertheless one effective result. It put an end to the tergiversations of Manning, by obliging him to choose between the obligations of his office and the voice of his conscience. As Archdeacon of Chichester he was under an obligation in November, 1850, to assemble the clergy of his archdeaconry, to protest against the "papal aggression," as was being done throughout the country.

The moral impossibility that he could co-operate in such an act at once occurred to him. He forthwith told his Bishop that his convictions, upon the royal supremacy and that of the Pope, varied from those that he had to bring forward at the meeting, and in consequence, he proposed either to withdraw at once, or to fulfil his office and assemble the meeting, and then to make known his opinions and announce his secession. The Bishop ordered him to convoke the meeting, and not in any case to announce his secession, but to take time to reflect before he did so. In writing to Robert Wilberforce concerning the course he had taken with his Bishop, he said :

"I feel that my foot is in the river. It is cold, and my heart is sad. But where faith can act, I seem to feel that the world has subdued the Church of England to itself, and that the kingdom of our Lord is not from hence. I do not say one word to urge you, my dearest Robert, God forbid. I know your heart is as mine, and I have gone through your present state. Only do nothing against what may be found at last to be the Will and Presence of our Lord."

The meeting took place on November 17. It was opened by Manning, but without an address; once the resolutions were voted he told the assembled clergy regretfully and for the first time, that he disagreed with them, but he said he had no choice, that necessity was laid upon him. He thanked them with all his heart for their brotherly love and the many acts of kindness and friendship of the last ten years. There was no need for explanation, each one felt that it was the last adieu; the emotion was general, but no word that could wound was said whilst they sorrowfully separated. A few days later Manning preached his final sermon, sent his resignation to the Bishop, and on December 8 he quitted Lavington for ever. Later on he wrote: "What my human affections have suffered in leaving my only home and flock, where for eighteen years my whole life as a man has been spent, no words can say."

Manning was not slow to take in the importance of the rupture, of which his departure was the primary act. A clear light came to his mind upon the problem on which he had so long pondered. To Hope, on December 11, 1850, he wrote: "I feel with you that the argument is complete. For a long time I nevertheless felt a fear lest I should be doing an act morally wrong. This fear has passed away."

He wrote a few days later to Robert Wilberforce that it was sufficient that human sorrow should subside to leave his judgment clear, in order that he might have no hesitation in condemning Anglicanism. In truth, he added, "if you and I had been born out of the English Church, we should not have doubted for so much as a day where the one Church is."

For all that, he said, "he never had a stronger love" than that which he bore to the English Church, but he loved the truth still more. He knew where he was going.

To Robert Wilberforce, who proposed that he should establish between the Roman and the established Church a Free Church similar to that in Scotland, he replied: "No, three hundred years ago we left a good ship for a boat; I am not going to leave the boat for a tub."¹

He wrote to Hope: "I entirely feel what you say of the alternatives. It is Rome, or licence of thought and will."²

He sought no longer, as formerly, to retain those who wished to submit to the true Church. When Bellasis told him of his conversion he wrote:

"The prayer I have said for years, day by day, at the name of some very near to me, now in the Church of Rome, is: 'If they are wrong, open their eyes; if they are right, open mine.' And this sums up all I felt in reading your kind note. May God ever keep you for Himself."

Still, it seemed very hard for Manning to accomplish the final step. He had resigned his functions, and was living in London with his sister. He no longer heard

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 598.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 589-592.

Confessions, and for four months he continued to recite the Anglican office and to receive the Anglican communion. Sometimes, as if to gain time, he made a journey on the Continent.¹

To justify his delay to himself and others, he alleged that these precautions prevented him from acting through levity,² or that by waiting he allowed time for the grace of God to throw light on his mistake.³ In truth he suffered severely, not alone by the sacrifice he was making, but by that which he caused to others. Contrary to his habitual reserve, his letters of this period have a sorrowful tone, often poignant and heartrending; it was the long agony through which Newman had passed before him. "For myself, I have suffered more inward sorrow than anyone but God can ever know. No one can say how I feel torn and fleshed on all sides, as people were with hooks in other days."⁴ Making allusion, contrary to his habit, to the death of his wife, he gives vent to his feelings in writing to his "dear Robert." "My heart is as it was after a great event many years ago, sad and lonely." He himself explains the reason for this feeling of isolation. "I am in a vacuum. The support of past work is gone, and the reality which stands out ever before me is not mine to rest upon."⁵

The manner in which some of his relatives, among whom was his eldest brother, received the first news of his separation, only prepared Manning for what was to come.⁶ Others, like Mr. Gladstone, pressed him to the last moment with argumentations which seemed to him

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 590, 591.

² *Ibid.*, p. 588.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 599.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 599.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 600.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 584-587.

more imperious than convincing.¹ He was far more impressed by the sad appeals of those who represented the despair of his penitents. He acknowledged that such appeals "broke his heart." As an explanation to those who rebuked him, he reminded them how often he had tried to justify the Anglican Church in his own eyes. "All that makes or ever has made life dear to me is on this side."²

But he was not to see his dear Robert Wilberforce, to whom he had poured out all his griefs, take the final step; he felt that this friend remained in Anglicanism for fear of offending his much-loved wife. Manning had too great a respect for this clear-sighted and straightforward conscience to take advantage of his influence, but the intimacy of the two friends was not diminished by this diversity of conduct. Manning continued to make Robert Wilberforce his confidant up to his final resolve.³ Was there an understanding between them that although they were not walking in the same footsteps, they were of the same mind, and were only separated for a short time? In default of Wilberforce, Manning had another dear friend in Hope, with whom he wished to act in concord. He attached much value to this union, in which he found great consolation.⁴ His other friends who had preceded him in conversion—Allies, Henry Wilberforce, Dodsworth, Bellasis, Laprimaudaye—warned him with loving and impatient solicitude against prolonged delays; they tried to persuade him also "to join them, as he himself once called it, 'over the Tiber.'" In their letters they con-

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 580-583, 611, 612.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 612-616.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 599-610.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 588-590.

stantly alluded to the peace, happiness, and light which they enjoyed. Manning was so moved by these adjurations and assurances that he could not refrain from reverting to his own troubles.¹

In the middle of March, 1851, Manning at last concluded that he could no longer defer his abjuration; self-examination showed him that his motives for delay were not all satisfactory. He wrote to Robert Wilberforce:

"Do you remember last autumn bidding me to wait six months? I have done so morally, and now I find myself with no reason against acting, but the shrinking of flesh and blood and the vague fear of making a mistake where my whole light tells me there is no mistake. It is like the feeling of fear at passing a mountain road, of the safety of which I am by reason perfectly convinced."²

He therefore made up his mind. He related later in what circumstances he assisted for the last time at an Anglican service.

"It was in that little chapel off Buckingham Palace Road. I was kneeling by the side of Mr. Gladstone. Just before the Communion service commenced, I said to him: 'I can no longer take the Communion in the Church of England.' I rose up—'St. Paul is standing by his side'—and laying my hand on Mr. Gladstone's shoulder said: 'Come.' It was the parting of the ways. Mr. Gladstone remained, and I went my way. Mr. Gladstone still remains where I left him."³

Another day, after leaving a lawyer's office where he had been to sign a document relating to the resignation of his benefice, Manning entered the Catholic Church of St. George, where he said his first *Ave Maria*.

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 595-599.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 608.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 617.

The only thing now to be done was to make his submission to the Catholic authorities. But at this stage one last trial awaited him. Having confessed all his life the validity of Anglican Orders he could not persuade himself that he was not a priest, and that he did not enter as such into the Roman Church. After five hours' discussion with a Catholic theologian, the Rev. M. A. Tierney, of Arundel, he at length gave in. This was not the least sad of the sacrifices which he made upon the altar of his new faith.

At last, on April 6, 1851, on Passion Sunday, faithful to their engagement of acting together, Manning and Hope made their abjuration to a Jesuit father "with the fullest conviction both of reason and conscience," as Manning wrote to Robert Wilberforce.¹ After this act the two converts went to the Church of St. George, where they were received by Cardinal Wiseman.

In the accomplishment of this act before which he had hesitated for so long, Manning realized that he was sacrificing not only his ambitions but all that made the interest and charm of his life, even his dearest friendships; he expected to find himself on the following day stripped, bruised, isolated, with no earthly prospects before him. "After this," he wrote to Robert Wilberforce, "I shall sink to the bottom and disappear," and later on he said, "I thought that my life was finished." He little thought that God had reserved for him in the Church of Rome a greater and, even in a worldly point of view, more brilliant position than that which he had occupied in the Church of England.

Even at the very time of his abjuration, as an outcome of his sacrifice, he received a reward more precious

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., p. 620.

than all honours. Like all the other converts, he felt that he had received the fullest inward peace and light. The letters that he wrote at this time to his Catholic and Protestant friends bear witness to his serenity and confidence, in strange contrast to his former anguish. He wrote to the wife of his old curate, Laprimaudaye, recently converted: "God has led me through this great furnace, and I am in peace; my reason, conscience, and heart filled to overflow." And to his eldest brother, a firm Protestant greatly vexed by his conversion, he wrote: "I can only say I am in a calm and peace, sorrowing only with a human sorrow, and for the sorrow which I am causing to those I love so deeply." To Robert Wilberforce, still undecided, he says that "God had given him more than he ever asked or sought."¹ Later on he wrote to Hope, putting him in mind of their mutual abjuration: "What a blessed end! As the soul said to Dante: *E venni dal martirio a questa pace!*"²

In the Anglican world the "secession" of Manning seemed a catastrophe nearly equal to that of the conversion of Newman. Whilst the Protestant fanatics joined the future Lord Shaftesbury in praying the Lord to "purge the Church of these men, whose hearts were in the Vatican whilst they still eat the bread of the Establishment and undermined her!" others lamented, and Gladstone in despair wrote: "I feel as if I had lost my two eyes."

The stir was all the greater because many others besides Manning entered the Church. Some had preceded him, but a greater number followed him. This exodus even

¹ *Life of Manning*, vol. i., pp. 620-624.

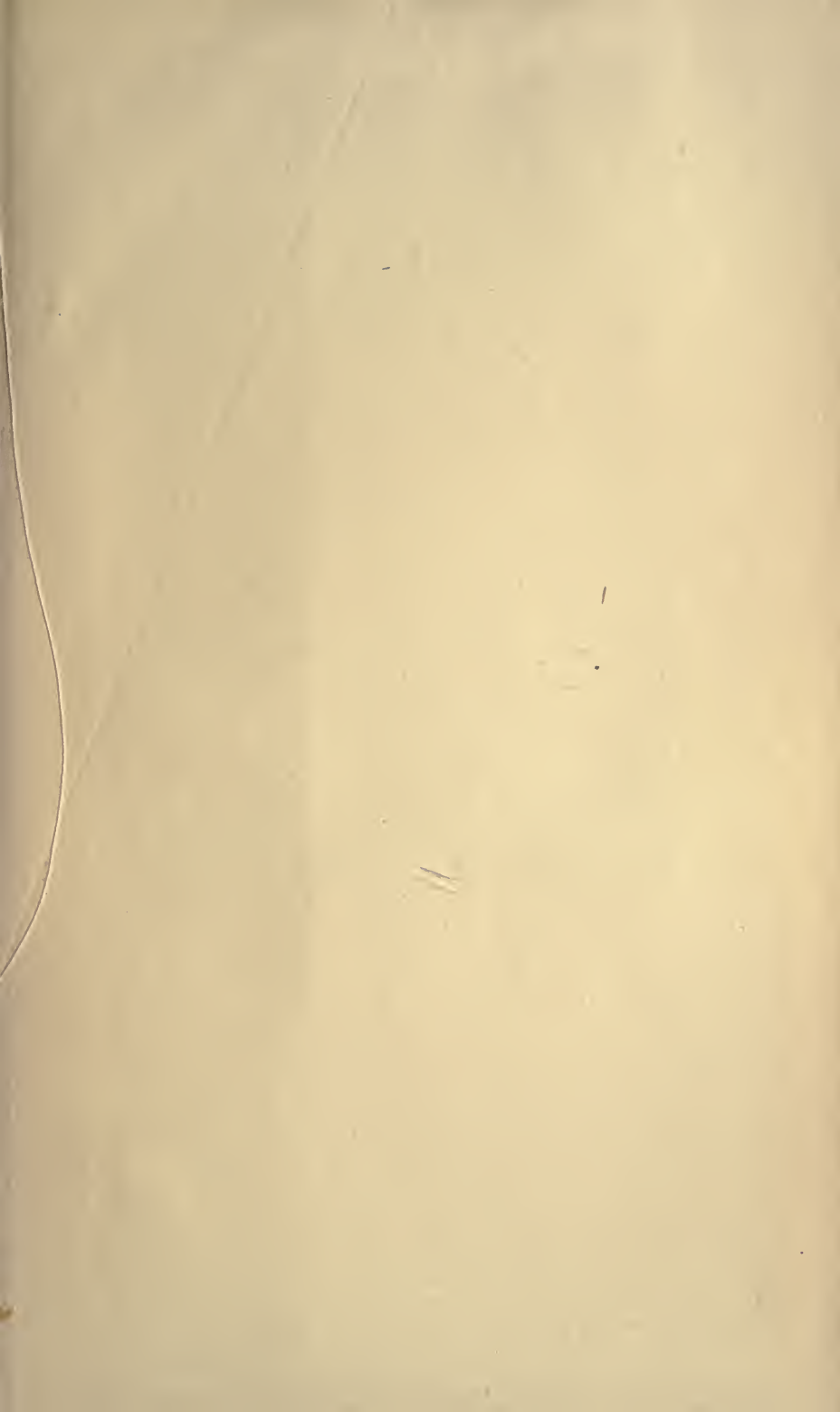
² *Memoirs of Hope-Scott*, vol. ii., p. 93.

exceeded that of 1845. The wonder was where it would stop, and if the Established Church would rally after the loss of so much of its most precious blood.

"Alas!" wrote Bishop Wilberforce, on May 28, 1851, "all is very dark around us. . . . I fear we shall lose some of our very best men, and my heart bleeds at every pore at the prospect."¹

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii., p. 45.

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